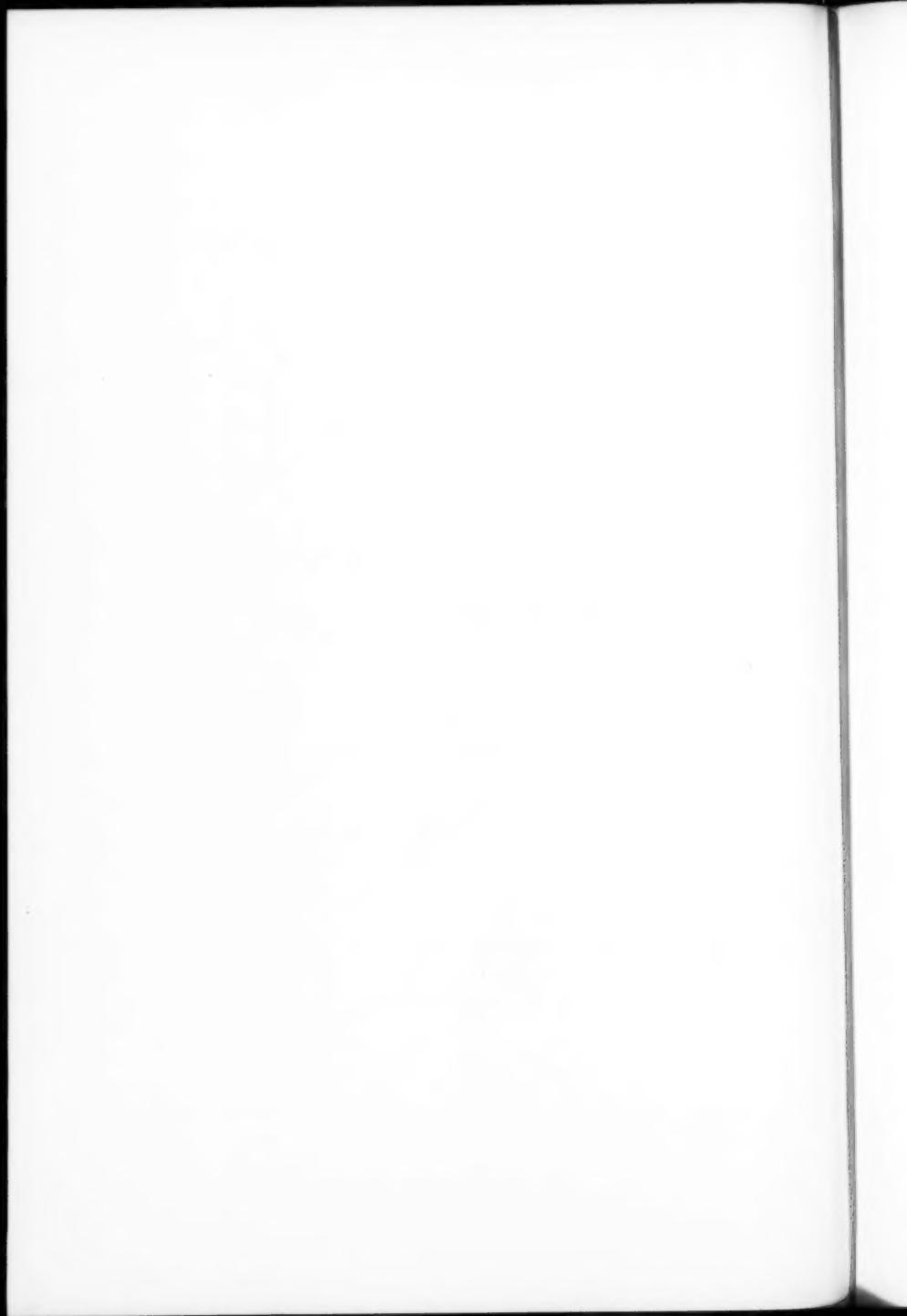


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THE EARLY HISTORY OF STEAMBOATING ON THE MINNESOTA RIVER¹

The history of steamboating on the Minnesota River extends over a period of seventy-five years, but its actual commercial significance covers less than two decades. From 1823 to 1851 an occasional excursion or tramp voyage to a trading post was made. These were few in number and until 1850 boats seldom ascended the river any great distance. In that year the trips of the steamboats "Anthony Wayne," "Nominee," and "Yankee" demonstrated the practicability of navigating the waters of the Minnesota, and the following year the treaty of Traverse des Sioux opened up the greater part of the Minnesota Valley, ushering in an era of steamboating the phenomenal growth of which was paralleled only by its equally astonishing decline. Cut-throat competition, the uncertain and limited season of navigation, and the completion of a railroad through the Minnesota Valley all combined to bring about the ultimate disappearance of steamboats on the Minnesota River. From 1872 to the close of the century fewer steamboats plied the waters of the Minnesota than had arrived at such ports as Henderson, St. Peter, Mankato, or even Fort Ridgely in a single week during the heyday of navigation.²

Although steamboating on the Minnesota was given its initial impetus largely by the excursions of 1850 and the resultant advertising, other steamboats had ascended the stream earlier. The "Virginia," the first steamboat to navigate the waters of the upper Mississippi, entered the mouth of the Min-

¹ A paper read on June 15, 1929, at the Hutchinson session of the eighth state historical convention. *Ed.*

² *Minnesota Pioneer* (St. Paul), July 25, 1850; Thomas Hughes, "History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 134-158 (part 1).

nesota on May 10 and again on June 20, 1823. Late in the fall of the same year the "Rambler" made a flying trip to Fort Snelling and shared honors with the "Virginia" by nosing its way into the mouth of the Minnesota River.³

The "Rufus Putnam," commanded by Captain David Bates, arrived at Fort Snelling for the first time on April 4, 1825. Four weeks later it returned, carrying goods for the Columbia Fur Company's post at Land's End, about a mile above the fort on the Minnesota.⁴ This trip, the first ascent of the Minnesota River above its mouth by a steamboat, heads the long list of voyages that constitute the history of steamboating on that river.

Other craft must have followed the "Rufus Putnam" in the years immediately after 1825, but the next recorded trip that has been discovered is that of 1836. Late in May of that year, the "Palmyra," in command of George B. Cole, took a large party of excursionists to St. Peter's and the Falls of St. Anthony.⁵ A number of men and women from Galena and the adjoining lead district were among the passengers. A journal kept by one of the excursionists tells of a short foray that the boat made up the Minnesota:

At sunset our party went on board the boat, together with the officers and ladies of the garrison. The boat ascended the St. Petre's [sic] river about three miles. This is probably the first

³ William J. Petersen, "The 'Virginia,' the 'Clermont' of the Upper Mississippi," *ante*, 9: 352, 361; *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), September 3, 1823.

⁴ Edward D. Neill, "Occurrences in and Around Fort Snelling, from 1819 to 1840," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 2: 110.

⁵ The "Palmyra" was owned by Cole, John and George W. Atchinson of Galena, and the firm of Hempstead and Beebe of St. Louis. It was a new boat, built at Pittsburgh early in 1836; it was 129 feet by 17 feet 4 inches, had a 5 foot hold, and was of 101 tons' burden. It had a transom stern, a cabin above deck, and a plain figurehead. In size and general construction, the "Palmyra" is typical of the steamboats of the period. The official record of the boat is in a volume of enrollments at the port of Pittsburgh, 1835-39, in the customs office at Pittsburgh.

steamboat that ever ascended thus far up this river. It is a beautiful stream, with clean prairie banks, and clear of bushes. Two miles from its mouth we pass a Sioux village. Having once more returned to the landing near the Fort, we bade adieu to the gentlemen and ladies of the garrison and dropped down to the American Fur Company's establishment.⁶

On a beautiful morning in June, 1842, a large pleasure party left Fort Snelling by steamboat and ascended the river as far as Shakopee's village. Extensive preparations had been made for the voyage, the passengers contributing liberally of bread, cakes, pies, coffee, sugar, milk, and cream and a varied assortment of cold meats. The young men, fearful lest some of the ladies might become sea-sick, brought on board an abundant supply of champagne and old cognac. As the boat was about to start Shakopee and two of his warriors hastened down the bank, the former gesticulating frantically, presumably at somebody on board. When he reached the boat he made it clear that his business had been concluded and that he would like to accompany the excursionists. His wish was granted and the merry party began the trip upstream. After several hours spent in enjoying the scenery the hungry excursionists repaired to the cabin, where the famished Shakopee quickly joined them. In order to put a stop to his eternal hand-shaking the tourists had huge quantities of food placed before him. "How he seemed to enjoy a piece of cake," writes one, "that had accidentally dropped into the oyster-soup! and with equal gravity would he eat apple-pie and ham together. And then his cry of 'wakun' [mysterious] when the cork flew from the champaigne bottle across the table!"

When Shakopee's village was reached the great chief was told by Colonel Greenleaf Dearborn, a member of the party, that the excursion had been expressly made to his village as a

⁶ *Northwestern Gazette and Galena Advertiser*, July 30, 1836. Other installments of the account of the voyage from Galena to Fort Snelling and return appear in the issues for June 18 and July 2. A file of the *Advertiser* is in the office of the *Galena Gazette* at Galena, Illinois.

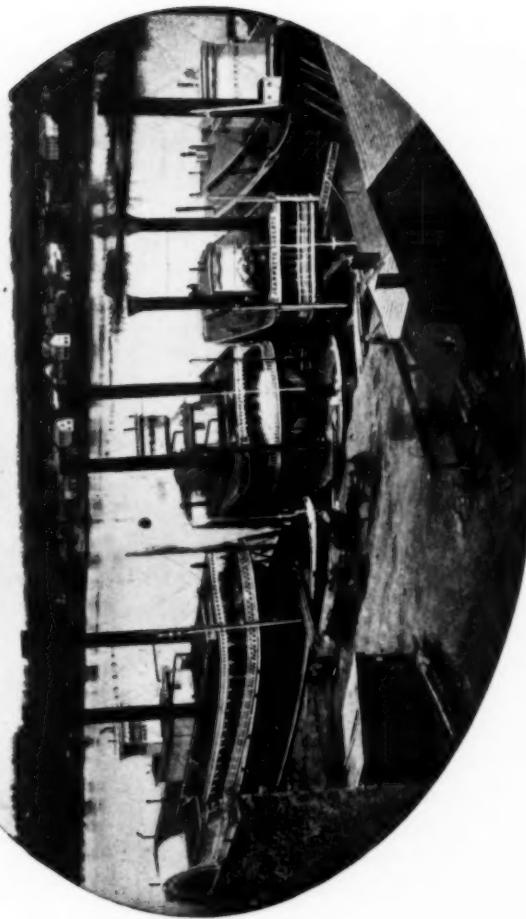
mark of respect and admiration for him. This compliment greatly pleased the gullible Shakopee, who immediately sprang ashore and informed his assembled tribesmen of the high honor that had been bestowed upon him, expatiating at length on the good qualities and attributes of the white man. After such an oration as the emotional Shakopee alone was able to make, the steamboat swung downstream.⁷

Perhaps as a result of such trips as those just described, the *Boston Atlas* published a statement in 1847 to the effect that the Minnesota River was navigable by steamboat to the foot of the first rapids near Carver and that but little improvement would be necessary to make it navigable for more than a hundred and fifty miles above its mouth. This was reprinted in the Galena papers, and during the next two years the increased commerce between Galena and the territory around Fort Snelling was noted with genuine satisfaction by the business men and newspaper editors of that thriving town.⁸

If the merry excursionists on board the "Anthony Wayne," the "Nominee," and the "Yankee" in 1850 had been given to musing they might have reflected that just a century and a half had elapsed since Le Sueur — probably the first white man to navigate and explore the waters of the Minnesota — had turned the bow of his tiny felucca up the winding river. It is doubtful, however, if even a fleeting thought was given to this historic event. Captain Daniel Able of the "Anthony Wayne" was no

⁷ Mrs. Mary Eastman, *Dahcotah; or, Life and Legends of the Sioux Around Fort Snelling*, 113-116 (New York, 1849).

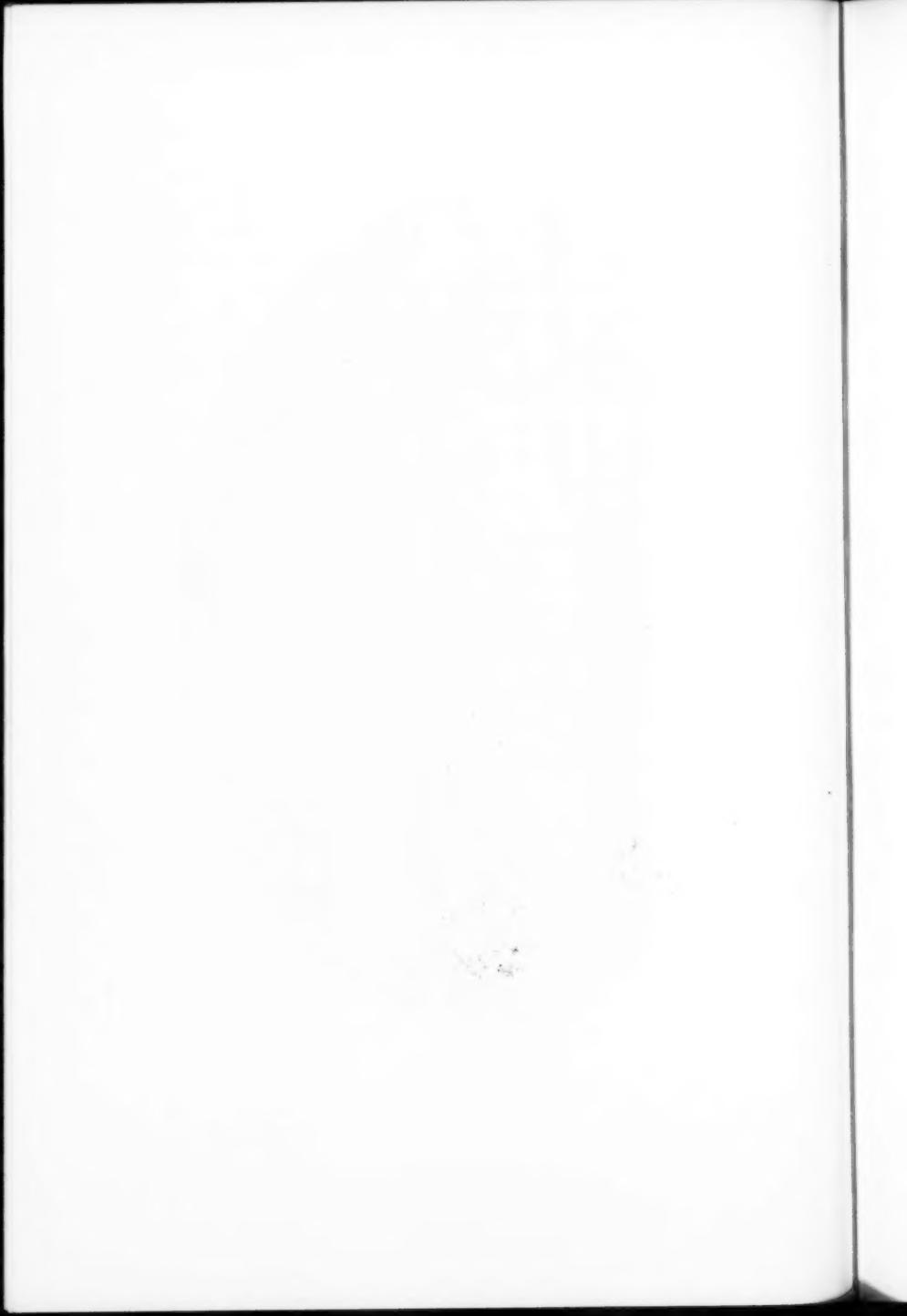
⁸ E. B. Washburne to Elias H. Derby, August 31, 1847, reprinted from *Boston Atlas* in *Galena Semi-weekly Advertiser*, October 5, 1847. According to the same issue of the *Advertiser*, three boats had been regularly engaged in commerce on the upper Mississippi since 1843. To this number must be added the many transient boats that engaged in the trade. In 1843 twenty-six boats left Galena for the upper Mississippi, and in 1844 this number had increased to forty-one. A writer for the *Weekly Northwestern Gazette* (Galena) of November 23, 1849, expressed delight over the fact that the up-river trade was organized.



MISSISSIPPI AND MINNESOTA RIVER STEAMBOATS AT

THE ST. PAUL LEVEE ABOUT 1858

[From a photograph in the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society. The boats are, from left to right, the "Grey Eagle," the "Frank Steele," the "Jeanette Roberts," and the "Time and Tide." The three latter were used on the Minnesota River.]



doubt intent on making a new record, and the little time that was not devoted to the passengers on his short run to the foot of the rapids above Carver, was perhaps given to counting out the profits of the voyage. A short time later the "Nominee" went up still higher. On July 18 the "Anthony Wayne" left St. Paul to retrieve its laurels, and navigated the Minnesota River to a point a few miles below Mankato.⁹

Stimulated by these successes and hopeful of securing some of the publicity that the "Anthony Wayne" and the "Nominee" had gained throughout the Mississippi Valley, Captain Martin K. Harris left St. Paul on July 22 with his "Yankee," determined to surpass the feats of both boats. On the second day he passed Traverse des Sioux, and that night a moonlight dance was held on the grassy banks at the upper end of Kasota Prairie. After passing the sign that marked the point reached by the "Anthony Wayne," the "Yankee" proceeded upstream to a point a little above the present village of Judson in Blue Earth County. Here Captain Harris decided to turn back, since the warm weather and swarms of mosquitoes were proving too much for the adventurous excursionists. The exploits of the "Anthony Wayne," "Nominee," and "Yankee" were heralded throughout the Mississippi Valley as marking a new era in steamboating on the upper waters of the Mississippi.¹⁰

Although the excursions of 1850 demonstrated the navigability of the Minnesota River, it remained for the treaty of Traverse des Sioux in the following year to throw the valley open to white settlement. While the stage was being set by politicians and land speculators for the successful negotiation of this treaty, preparations for a significant event were being

⁹ *Pioneer*, July 4, 25, August 1, 1850.

¹⁰ *Pioneer*, August 15, 1850; *Minnesota Democrat* (St. Paul), July 8, 1851. The *Northwestern Gazette* for June 28, July 19, and August 2, 1850, carried full accounts of the trips of the three boats, with optimistic editorial comment on the future value of their exploits to Galena.

made hundreds of miles away. In St. Joseph County, Michigan, lies the little town of Mottville, comfortably situated on the banks of the St. Joseph River. Here in 1850 dwelt Franklin Wasson and Henry Barnes, two energetic Yankees. Seized with the western fever and chafed, no doubt, by their proximity to civilization, Wasson and Barnes determined to move to the frontier. They chose St. Paul as their future home. Perhaps the excursions of 1850 and the future prospects of Minnesota had fired the imaginations of the two sturdy Yankees. They experienced no difficulty in enlisting in their venture about sixty people. During the winter of 1850-51 they built a sidewheel steamboat on the banks of the St. Joseph River and named it the "Dakotah." The boat was 125 feet long with a 25 foot beam, measured 160 tons, and drew only 2 feet of water. In order to reach Lake Michigan the "Dakotah" had to proceed southward down the St. Joseph River, passing through Elkhart and South Bend, Indiana, en route, then turn northward through Niles, Michigan, and enter the lake at St. Joseph, a distance of fully sixty miles. When spring came Wasson and Barnes with their party set out, reached the mouth of the St. Joseph, made their hazardous way around the southern part of Lake Michigan, and arrived at Chicago without mishap. After leaving Chicago, the "Dakotah" proceeded in leisurely fashion down the Illinois Canal. The guards and wheels of the boat had been constructed so that they could be removed and thus allow the craft to pass through the canal without difficulty. These, it was intended, would be replaced at Peru, Illinois, and the "Dakotah" would then be ready to proceed down the Illinois and up the Mississippi to St. Paul. One of the partners, Wasson, left the craft at Peru, went overland to Galena, and arrived at St. Paul on July 5 on board the "Dr. Franklin No. 1." He selected a site for a foundry, which he and Barnes intended to establish, busied himself securing stone for a foundation, and awaited impatiently the arrival of the boat, which he planned to fit out and enter into the Minnesota River trade.

Two weeks passed and the "Dakotah" failed to appear. Thoroughly alarmed by the long delay, Wasson finally went down the river to solve the mystery.

While St. Paul was congratulating itself on the prospective acquisition of a new and much needed industry, the "Dakotah" dropped down to Peoria. Here boiler trouble developed and it was necessary to wait three weeks while a new boiler was shipped from Chicago and installed. The work done, on August 9 the "Dakotah" rounded to for the purpose of wooding up and testing the new boiler. Suddenly it burst. According to one account the explosion was so terrific that the boat sank instantly in eleven feet of water. Three bodies were recovered and seventeen people, dreadfully scalded or otherwise wounded, were brought ashore. Barnes was among the latter and his wounds were so severe that he died soon afterwards. Thus was lost to the Minnesota River the "Dakotah," the first steamboat expressly built for that trade. If the pioneer craft had been fit to proceed from Peoria without delay, it might have arrived at St. Paul and steamed up the Minnesota River to Traverse des Sioux in time for the signing of the treaty.¹¹

It required more than a steamboat explosion, however, to dampen the ardor of the restless land-seeker. At St. Anthony before the end of the summer of 1851 it was said that ten new first-class steamboats would be put on the upper Mississippi in 1852 if the Sioux treaty were ratified. Galena merchants prophesied that three boats a week would be necessary during 1852 and that daily service would be im-

¹¹ *Minnesota Democrat*, July 8, 15, August 19, 26, September 23, November 18, 1851. Chicago and Peoria dispatches differ regarding the place where the "Dakotah" was built, the former giving Mottville and the latter Sturgis, a town farther from Lake Michigan than Mottville and fully five miles from the St. Joseph River. Since Mottville is on the banks of this river, in all likelihood the steamboat was built there. There is also much variation in different newspaper accounts regarding the number of families and people involved.

perative in 1853 to carry the hordes of emigrants, the pleasure seekers, and the increased freight that Indian annuities and a growing population would require. In three trips to St. Paul late in the season of 1851 one boat, the "Nominee," carried more than six hundred passengers, while her lower decks creaked and groaned under heavy loads of live stock, agricultural implements, and merchandise. About the same time the "Excelsior" arrived with her cabin and decks jammed with immigrants. The "Nominee" had left a generous tribute of passengers and cargoes along the way. Galena merchants pointed with enthusiasm to the St. Paul trade, which, by 1855, amounted to \$102,000 for flour, corn, oats, and pork for the season.¹² Not to be outstripped by Galena, in 1851 the merchants of Dubuque purchased the steamboat "Tiger" to engage in the up-river trade and promised to enter a larger boat in the commerce with St. Paul directly. The "Tiger" arrived at the latter place on May 22 and brought a full freight of grain, lime, and other articles on June 5. Although it was a small boat, the *Democrat* declared, the "Tiger" did not mean "to be growled off the track by snorting water-lions of Galena."¹³ During the fifties St. Louis, Cincinnati, and even far-away, grimy Pittsburgh sent immense cargoes of freight and passengers to St. Paul and the towns of the Minnesota Valley.¹⁴

Just as Galena served as an entrepôt for Minnesota, so St. Paul played a like rôle in supplying the needs of Shakopee, Chaska, Henderson, St. Peter, Mankato, and points beyond. As early as 1853 St. Paul was exhibiting evidences of its future supremacy in commercial matters. In that year \$390,000 was invested in merchandise at St. Paul, including goods to arrive by steamboat early in spring. This was divided

¹² *Minnesota Democrat*, August 12, 19, September 23, 30, October 7, 1851; *Shakopee Independent*, January 30, 1856.

¹³ *Minnesota Democrat*, May 27, June 10, 1851.

¹⁴ *Pioneer*, December 9, 1852; *Daily Pioneer and Democrat* (St. Paul), June 1, 1857.

as follows: dry goods, \$100,000; groceries, \$83,000; assorted merchandise, \$100,000; clothing, hats, caps, and the like, \$30,000; boots and shoes, \$10,000; hardware, \$5,000; farm implements, \$8,000; books and stationery, \$12,000; drugs, paints, oil, and glass, \$12,000; iron and nails, \$20,000; miscellaneous items, \$10,000. To this must be added \$400,000 invested in the Indian trade and government contracts, for which St. Paul served as the center and distributing point. The commission business transacted in 1852 at the three or four warehouses on the city's two steamboat landings amounted to approximately fifty thousand dollars, and it was expected that this would be more than quadrupled in the next year.¹⁵

Continued low water in the years following the signing of the treaty of Traverse des Sioux greatly retarded the growth of steamboating. After the usual spring floods the Minnesota River would suddenly dry up and, notwithstanding the efforts of steamboats to rub their bellies over the innumerable sandbars that blocked the way, only a few score trips were made each season.¹⁶ Immigrants were surging into the valley, however, and despite this temporary handicap the general aspect of the country was changing fast. An optimistic outlook was expressed by Martin McLeod after a trip up the meandering Minnesota on the steamboat "Black Hawk":

Cabins going up everywhere. Hundreds of claims on each bank from Mendota to the Blue Earth—and onwards to the Cottonwood, which is now being explored for Coal, with no small certainty of success. If the present fever does not intermit, there will be employment for at least three boats, continually, during the ensuing season. The pilots and others of the initiated craft say that the Minnesota is an excellent stream to navigate—better than any other tributary of the Mississippi above the Ohio—as far as Traverse des Sioux—beyond there are some snag obstructions,

¹⁵ *Weekly Minnesotian*, April 2, 1853.

¹⁶ Hughes, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 158. The *Pioneer* of August 12, 1852, reports that at that time freight rates were much higher than usual because of the low water.

but they can be cleared out at a trifling expense. I never was so sanguine as many others of the rapid settlement of this Territory, but latterly I have become quite a convert.

Despite this forecast, scarcely a hundred arrivals from the Minnesota River were chronicled at the St. Paul levee in the five years ending in 1854.¹⁷

The growth of the valley towns was slow but substantial in the period prior to 1855. In that year, however, there were 109 steamboat arrivals at St. Paul from the Minnesota. In 1856 there were 207, in 1857 the local wharfmaster registered 292, and in 1858 a total of 394 steamboats docked at the St. Paul levee from the valley towns.¹⁸ Shakopee, Chaska, Henderson, St. Peter, Mankato, and other points along the Minnesota River became distributing centers for the inland settlements, and as quickly as the tons of freight were dumped upon their levees they were carted away into the interior. It was largely through this service that the fast-growing towns in the Big Woods received their supplies.

Intense rivalry existed among the various river towns. Each "pointed with pride" to its own rapid growth and usually "viewed with alarm" or derision the progress of its neighbor. In pointing out the peculiarly strategic geographic position of Henderson, a writer for the local newspaper remarked:

The business of the settlements about Glencoe, Hutchinson, &c., northwest of us, the Fort Ridgely and Sioux Agency business in the west, and the settlements on the Cotton Wood in the southwest must be concentrated here as a matter of necessity, while an immense timbered section of country east will be soon filled up, and add materially to the business of our town. The Pembina train of teams will come direct from Graham's point on the Red River to this place, and hereafter a large portion of the supplies for the extensive business of the Red River will be shipped to this point and carried hence in teams.

¹⁷ McLeod to John H. Stevens, July 18, 1852, Stevens Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; Hughes, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 158.

¹⁸ Hughes, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 158.

During last summer the amount of freight landed at Henderson for transportation to the Fort and Agency exceeded that of all the other points on the Minnesota combined. Over fifty tons per week was forwarded from this point to Fort Ridgely alone.

The numerous teams owned in our vicinity, and ready at all times to transport supplies to the different points in the interior, afford facilities for the transit of goods from this point not possessed by any other place on the River, while the freight by water to this landing is from fifteen to fifty cents per hundred pounds less than to the shipping points above.¹⁹

Five different stage lines were advertised in the spring of 1856 in the *Henderson Democrat*. Two of these — the Henderson, Glencoe, and Saint Cloud Line of Stages, and the Henderson Transportation Company — went northward into the Big Woods. The latter concern, according to its advertisement, was "prepared to transport goods of all kinds from Henderson to the different points in the interior with punctuality and dispatch, immediately after the opening of Navigation. The Company has made such arrangements as will enable them to transport freight to Fort Ridgely, Sioux Agency, Glencoe, Hutchinson, without delay after its arrival at Henderson." Another service advertised by this company was described as follows: "Saddle, Carriage, and Buggy horses will be kept ready for the accomodation of persons arriving by Steam Boats, and desirous of visiting the interior, and returning by the same Boat."²⁰

On May 8, 1856, Henderson was filled with strangers on their way to or returning from Glencoe and Hutchinson, according to the *Democrat* of that date. A writer in the same issue declared that "A party of 30 left here for these towns last week, taking teams, stock, provisions, &c with them. There were several ladies among the party. This is the only point that the river can be approached with teams, from these

¹⁹ *Henderson Democrat*, April 3, 1856. In 1857 a hundred pounds of freight could be shipped from St. Paul to Shakopee for twenty-five cents, to Le Sueur for forty cents, to Traverse des Sioux or St. Peter for fifty cents, and to Mankato for seventy-five cents. *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 25, 1857.

²⁰ *Henderson Democrat*, April 3, 1856.



**People's
Minnesota River
PACKET.**

THE Fine light draught and fast running Passenger and Freight Steamer

MIDORA,

EDWARD MCLAGON, Master,

Will run during the entire season in the Minnesota River trade. Will contract freight to any point between St. Paul and Fort Ridgely during the season of navigation. The *Midora* is entirely new and draws only 14 inches water.

WILLIAM CONSTANS, *Agt.*
St. Paul, M. T., Feb. 9, 1857. *noll*

MINNESOTA RIVER Accommodation Packet

EQUATOR.

CHAS. E. SENCERBOX, Master.

The Proprietors of this truly Minnesota River Boat, take this opportunity of tendering their sincere thanks for the very liberal patronage they received during the last season, and now have the pleasure of announcing to the shippers of St. Paul and the inhabitants of the Minnesota Valley, that they are refitting and refurbishing the Steamer *Equator* in a superior manner, and will be in readiness upon the opening of navigation, to resume her regular trips on the Minnesota River.

The Steamer *Equator* is owned exclusively by citizens of Minnesota, and will be kept running for the accommodation of the public in the dull season as well as in the more business part. Her earnings are spent among the people from whom it is received, instead of being taken away by transient boats at the commencement of the dull season; with the consoling assurance that they have taken the cream of the business, and the inhabitants of Minnesota may then do the best they can. There are no *Pittsburg* interests in the *Equator* to divert her from the trade, and the proprietors would respectfully solicit a continuance of the patronage heretofore enjoyed. The proprietors of the Steamer *Equator*, will have a boat in readiness at the commencement of the low water season, that will only require a heavy *draw* to enable her to run.

Saint Paul, February 20, 1857. *nol6 6m*

STEAMBOAT ADVERTISEMENTS

[From the *St. Peter Courier*,
June 3, 1857.]

interior towns, at present." On May 15 the paper recorded the arrival of the Hutchinson family and noted that over two hundred people had passed through Henderson in the past three weeks bound for Hutchinson and Glencoe. Two weeks later, on May 29, the influx was so great that it was predicted that there would not be an unoccupied claim within twenty miles of Henderson at the end of another month.

Thus the mad stampede up the Minnesota River and off into the interior continued. It was not merely Henderson, moreover, which was enjoying such phenomenal prosperity. All along the river the growth was astonishing. A St. Peter paper advised other cities along the Minnesota to cease tearing one another down by their persistent "croaking." In June, 1856, a large supply of

goods, including two hundred barrels of flour for the firm of Bigsby and Gardner, was rolled off the steamboat "Equator" completely blocking the St. Peter levee. This concern had received over two hundred tons of merchandise since the opening of navigation for the season and the entire stock had not yet arrived.²¹

By 1857 steamboating had become so vital a factor in the everyday life of St. Peter that local merchants were utterly dependent upon it for the bulk of their goods. The business of St. Peter had grown with such rapidity that it practically equaled that of St. Paul four years earlier.²² The *Courier* of June 3, 1857, published the following statement:

We can gather some idea of the vast importance of Steamboating to the Minnesota Valley, when we reflect that these boats have transported along this valley 150 tons each, in their upward trips, or 7,500 tons, exclusive of passengers. This freight transpor[t]ed in wagons from St. Paul, at one dollar and fifty cents per hundred, would cost the sum of \$225,000, while the cost by the steamboats would only, at 40 cents per hundred, amount to the sum of \$60,000, a saving to the freighters of \$165,000 since the opening of navigation. The business will continue, at least, another month, and these figures will be nearly or quite doubled.

Astonished by the information that the steamboat "Reveille" brought copies of late papers from the "Valley Towns," a passenger who had been on board the "Yankee" during her memorable trip gave vent to the following reverie:

Six years ago, and all that was visible to the explorers on the Anthony Wayne and Yankee, were gentle, peaceful slopes, moss covered banks, prairies bedecked with flowers, and rich luxuriant forest trees. The only signs of life were curling wreaths of smoke from out the apex of a wigwam, with here and there a brave standing idle and listless upon the banks, looking in mute astonishment upon the passing steamer. At intervals, could be heard

²¹ *St. Peter Courier*, June 11, 1856.

²² *Courier*, December 11, 1857. Merchandise sold in St. Peter in 1857 was valued as follows: groceries and provisions, \$120,000; dry goods, \$90,000; clothing, \$75,000; hardware, tinware, and stoves, \$20,000; boots and shoes, \$14,000; crockery and glassware, \$6,000.

the crack of a warrior's rifle on ahead, and soon a rustling would be heard in the underbrush, and a wounded deer, all blood and foam, would dash into the boiling current, and vainly essay to stem its force. Flocks of ducks and geese, unaccustomed to the sight of man, would rise reluctantly from almost beneath the wheels of the steamer. These were the scenes of 1850. *How changed!* Now a dozen embryo cities sit proudly on its banks, whilst settlers and settlers' homes occupy almost every mile of space. From Shakopee, Henderson and Saint Peter, the press issues forth its thousands every week, and the 'valley' and the 'valley towns' are fast rising into importance, and increasing in wealth and beauty.²³

While immigrants and immigrant supplies to the valley towns formed the chief steamboat cargo, the transportation of government supplies and Indian annuities was a source of profit that greatly stimulated steamboating. Thus, in June, 1851, the "Excelsior" carried the treaty commissioners with their attendants and supplies to Traverse des Sioux. The "Dr. Franklin No. 1" took a large delegation of St. Paul citizens to the same place to witness the signing of the treaty. Later in the same year, the "Uncle Toby" went wheezing up the Minnesota to the Sioux crossing with a cargo of freight.²⁴

Steamboating was given a tremendous impetus in 1853 by the erection of a Sioux agency and of Fort Ridgely near the mouth of the Redwood River. The contract for conveying troops and baggage from Fort Snelling to the new post was secured by Captain Daniel Smith Harris of the "West Newton." Despite a heavy tow of two barges this boat made its way swiftly up the Minnesota. At Henderson it passed the "Clarion." That boat had left the fort with a heavy tow twenty-four hours before the "West Newton," but had had difficulty in stemming the thirty-foot stage of water that flooded the lowlands of the Minnesota Valley. Farther on,

²³ *Henderson Democrat*, May 22, 1856.

²⁴ *Minnesota Democrat*, June 3, 17, October 7, 1851; Hughes, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 137.

near the mouth of the Cottonwood, the "West Newton" sighted and quickly passed the "indominatable" "Tiger." Despite a forty-eight hour lead, the "Tiger" was unable to keep ahead of Captain Harris' boat, which was one of the fastest on the upper Mississippi. The "West Newton" was the first steamboat to navigate the waters of the Minnesota River from the mouth of the Cottonwood to the site of Fort Ridgely. The "Tiger" and "Clarion" were following hard in its wake, however; thus at one time there were three steamboats on the waters of the Minnesota River far above the point reached by the "Yankee" in 1850.²⁵

In 1855 the "Globe" carried the supplies with which annuities were paid to the Sioux at the Redwood agency. The following year the "Clarion" took a hundred and fifty tons of government supplies from Le Sueur to the agency. With two deeply freighted barges in tow, eighteen hundred barrels of flour, six hundred barrels of pork, a hundred barrels of lard, and three thousand bushels of corn, Captain R. M. Spencer's "Fire Canoe" was at the St. Paul levee in the spring of 1857, ready to go to the Redwood agency.²⁶ Scores of other craft, similarly laden, transported supplies to Fort Ridgely and the Sioux agency, perhaps bringing to steamboat captains their richest gains.

The heyday of steamboating on the Minnesota River spans the eleven-year period from 1855 to 1865, when almost three thousand arrivals were recorded at the St. Paul wharves. The banner years in this era were 1858 and 1862, when 394 and 413 trips from the Minnesota River were chronicled at the St. Paul levee. Not all the steamboats arriving at this point came from the uppermost reaches of the Minnesota.

²⁵ *Minnesotian*, May 7, 1853. This material is reprinted, *post*, p. 164-180.

²⁶ *Henderson Democrat*, May 22, 1856; *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 30, May 6, 1857; Captain Edwin Bell, "Early Steamboating on the Minnesota and Red Rivers," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 92 (part 1).

In 1858 the diminutive thirty-seven ton "Antelope," commanded by Captain George Houghton, was responsible for 210 of the 394 arrivals, and in 1860 it registered 198 of the 250 landings at St. Paul. Seldom carrying anything but passengers, the "Antelope" served as a daily packet between St. Paul and Chaska at the foot of the lower rapids. During its six years of service on the Minnesota River, this boat was responsible for perhaps a third of the total number of arrivals that were recorded during the period of greatest activity.²⁷

Though subject to all the vicissitudes which the rapids, a narrow channel, a small volume of water, and a limited season of navigation caused, transportation by steamboat was cheaper and quicker than with slow-moving ox teams that tediously trundled over the deep-rutted roads. Only limited quantities of freight could be transported by stage during the cold winter months, and the close of navigation always caused the market price of commodities to soar. Thus, in 1852, the price of goods in St. Paul jumped twenty to thirty per cent when the season of navigation came to a close. Butter, for instance, which had been purchased for from nine to fifteen cents, was selling for as high as thirty and forty cents per pound. The *Minnesotian* of November 20, 1852, branded these prices as a "scandalous shame" and criticized sharply those merchants who justified them because two or three steamboats had failed to arrive. It further declared that people would refuse to eat butter under these circumstances. Another St. Paul paper noted that the local merchants as usual were late about receiving their winter stock of merchandise, and they were severely upbraided for a procrastination that forced them to pay a dollar rather than twenty-five cents per hundred-weight for freight. "There is not much regularity respecting the markets," runs a statement in a Shakopee paper of 1855. "Prices seem to be according to circumstances, groceries and provisions in general, all seem to be on the advance

²⁷ Hughes, in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 10: 158, 159.

since the close of navigation." The next winter the markets exhibited the same unsteadiness at Shakopee. Provisions of many kinds soared in price, and the rise in the cost of freight from below caused a slight advance on grain and flour.²⁸

After a long winter siege the towns along the river began to look forward with impatience to the opening of navigation. Late in March, 1857, a Shakopee paper urged its readers to listen for the whistle of the first steamboat. Mid-April ushered in the opening of navigation. Late on a rainy Sunday night the citizens of Shakopee were awakened from their slumbers by the hoarse, weird moan of a steamboat whistle. In a twinkling the levee was alive with people. As the boat glided triumphantly up to the landing with its flags flying, its whistles blowing, and a brass band dispensing martial music, the assembled throng burst into a frenzy of wild huzzas. Guns were fired, hats were thrown into the air — a new year had opened for the

 THE STEAMER FRANK STEELE, Wm. F. DAVIDSON, Master, will, on the opening of navigation, make regular trips from St. Paul to Mankato and intermediate points, leaving St. Paul every Tuesday and Friday regularly.
MARCH 23
BRUNNOS, LEWIS & WHITH, Agents.

 THE DAILY MAIL PACKET, ANTONIO LOPE, will leave every day for Chaska and intermediate points, as follows: Leaves St. Paul at..... 9 o'clock P. M.
Leaves Chaska at..... 9 o'clock A. M.
For Freight or Passage apply on board.
MARCH 24
G. HOUGHTON, Master.

1858. SEASON ARRANGEMENT. 1858.

 REGULAR ST. PAUL AND RED WOOD LOWER SIOUX AGENCY MINNESOTA RIVER PACKET, IN CONNECTION WITH THE LOWER RIVER PACKETS, FOR Shakopee, Chaska, Carver, Leavenworth, Little Rapids, St. Lawrence, Bell's Bluff, Henderson, Le Sueur, Ottawa, Traverse, St. Peter, Kasota, Mankato, Sioux City, Jordan, New Ulm, Fort Ridgely, and Red Wood Lower Sioux Agency.

 THE LIGHT DRAUGHT AND ELEGANT Passenger Steamer, TIME AND TIDE, NELSON HOWECK, Master, will, on the earliest opening of Navigation, commence running as a regular Packet to the above and all intermediate points, continuing in the trade during the entire boating season.

Captain N. Roberts begs to assure his Minnesota River friends that they will find her to be in all respects most admirably adapted to the wants of the river, being of great strength, lightness of draught, beauty of model, &c., with cabin arrangement and accommodation not surpassed by those of any boat on the river, combining all the latest and most modern improvements and added safety, comfort and pleasure of passengers. Nothing will be found wanting in any of her appointments, which belong to those of a first-class passenger steamer.

Capt. N. Roberts hopes to receive at the hands of his numerous friends along the river, the countenance of their generous patrons, who will, in his belief, be the first to reward him, while in command of different boats, and for which he hereby desires to present his most grateful acknowledgments, promising increased exertions of himself and officers to give the most perfect satisfaction to all who travel on the TIME AND TIDE, or with whose business in any way his boat may be connected.

For Freight Passage and information apply to her Agent,
DAVID O. OAKES,
St. Paul, N. T., Lower Levee, between Jackson and Robert sts.
MARCH 23

STEAMBOAT ADVERTISEMENTS

[From the *Pioneer and Democrat*
(St. Paul), July 8, 1858.]

²⁸ *Pioneer*, November 11, 1852; *Shakopee Independent*, December 1, 1855; *Valley Herald* (Shakopee), November 19, 1856.

little town of Shakopee. And through all the excitement Captain Charles Sencerbox beamed down from the deck of the "Equator," his ambition realized. The "Equator" was the first boat to ascend the Minnesota that year.²⁹ The progress of the first boat of the season was regularly accompanied by a series of joyful demonstrations, and the captain who was fortunate enough to bring his craft to port first was certain of a liberal patronage throughout the ensuing year.

Midsummer usually brought low water, and the merchants along the Minnesota were inclined to order a heavy supply of merchandise early in the season to guard against a shortage in case the boats should be unable to proceed on their regular schedule. "The merchants and business men of the valley are taking advantage of the high water," according to the *Henderson Democrat* of May 1, 1856, "and are bringing up a larger amount of goods and stock than that of the two preceding years. Several steam mills are being erected in different parts of the valley, and the present high water affords facilities for getting the machinery, with but little cost or delay." Fresh and salt beef were unobtainable; pork was scarce; flour and corn meal had given out; and butter was bringing thirty cents a pound and eggs twenty-five cents a dozen in little Henderson before the opening of navigation in 1856. Each spring immigrants arrived in huge waves, for they chose to travel, if possible, at a time when transportation was certain. For example, in 1856 the "Reveille," Captain R. M. Spencer commanding, left St. Paul late in April with 370 passengers and a heavy cargo of freight, and discharged a generous portion of each at Henderson. Three days later this boat again made its appearance on the Minnesota with four hundred passengers and their "goods and chattels" jammed aboard. The rosy prospects of similar trips induced the owners of the "Reveille" and the "Equator" to purchase the "H. T. Yeatman" to run

²⁹ *Valley Herald*, March 25, April 15, 1857.

in conjunction with their other boats. The "Yeatman" was a large stern-wheeler of 165 tons, capable of accommodating six hundred passengers. On its maiden voyage up the Minnesota it "brought the heaviest load ever shipped from St. Paul for the Minnesota Valley." One June day the "Time and Tide" left 1,147 sacks of corn, 239 barrels of flour, 129 barrels of pork, and 150 tons of other freight at Henderson; and the "Globe" came puffing into port the next day and discharged an additional 30 tons.³⁰

Navigation on the Minnesota River was usually possible several weeks before the first steamboat arrived at St. Paul from below because of the length of time required for Lake Pepin to open. Since each spring only a small quantity of freight remained in St. Paul from the previous winter, the trade of the Minnesota was rather light until fresh supplies were procured from the lower Mississippi. The winter of 1856-57 was unusually severe, and the Minnesota was open for navigation three weeks before Lake Pepin relinquished its grip on the upper Mississippi. Ten boats lay at the foot of the lake several days before it opened, and a number of others were docked three miles below at Wabasha. In this colorful flotilla were steamboats hailing from distant Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. On April 29 twenty-two craft were assembled, crowded with passengers who impatiently awaited the moving out of the ice. The more venturesome captains had for several days butted their prows against the unbreakable wall in vain attempts to crash their way through.³¹

Fifteen hundred passengers impatiently fumed at the delay of the twenty-two stranded craft at the foot of Lake Pepin. Hundreds of others, exasperated at the obdurate tenacity of the lake, set out on foot for Red Wing, willing to endure the

³⁰ *Henderson Democrat*, April 10, May 1, 8, 15, June 5, 1856; George B. Merrick "Steamboats and Steamboatmen on the Upper Mississippi," in *Saturday Evening Post* (Burlington, Iowa), November 20, 1915.

³¹ *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 28, 29, 30, 1857.

greatest hardships and inconvenience in order to reach St. Paul and the valley beyond earlier than was possible if they remained with their boats. At Red Wing they were met by the Minnesota River boats, which flourished on this early season business made up of passengers who cared little for the facilities provided. On April 16 the "Reveille" arrived at St. Paul from Red Wing, her decks thronged with people. "Most of those who came in her," according to a contemporary account, "were obliged to be content, so far as sleeping arrangements were concerned, with a chance to lie two deep on the greasy cabin floor, with their carpet bags under their heads for pillows, whilst the wind whistled a lullaby through the broken and almost sashless windows of the vessel."³² Since Lake Pepin did not open until April 30 in 1857 the owners of the "Reveille," the "Time and Tide," and any other Minnesota River steamboats that were prepared to make the trips were able to amass snug fortunes before their season actually began on the Minnesota. Before daylight on April 17 the "Time and Tide" came into St. Paul with a full load of passengers and the Red Wing band. At the prevailing rates for passage, the fares of the 246 cabin and 197 deck passengers netted the owner of the boat \$1,821 for a single trip. This amount alone was almost equal to its passenger receipts for the first five trips on the Minnesota in 1857. On April 24 of that year the "Time and Tide" brought 196 cabin passengers and 145 "deckers" from Red Wing; three days later the same craft came booming up to the St. Paul levee with 368 passengers perched precariously about its decks from stem to stern and occupying all available space from engine room to texas. Such trips must have brought a broad grin to the countenance of its owner, the jovial and picturesque Captain Louis Robert. It was only five years since he had purchased the little steamboat "Black Hawk" for six thousand dollars to run regularly on the Minnesota River. At

³² *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 17, 29, 1857.

the time the boat was the subject of lively newspaper comment, for it was the first steamboat owned entirely in St. Paul. In 1857 the "Time and Tide" alone earned enough in the spring trade between St. Paul and Red Wing to pay the original cost of the historic "Black Hawk."³³

A final yawn of the seemingly bottomless old Lake Pepin split and ripped its winter coat wide open and produced a narrow but dangerous lane for the intrepid steamboat captains to venture through. And venture they did. Battering their way through giant blocks of shifting, crumbling ice, the "War Eagle" and the "Galena" started up the ice-choked lake, risking all to gain the coveted laurel that went to the first steamboat to reach St. Paul. Hard in their frozen wake followed such boats as the "Rescue," the "Henry Clay," the "Hamburg," the "Atlanta," the "Conewago," the "Sam Young," the "Golden State," and a dozen others. Just below St. Paul, when victory was almost in the "War Eagle's" grasp, a deck hand fell overboard and a yawl put out to rescue the unfortunate man. It was a humane but costly act. On May 2, 1857, the *Pioneer and Democrat* noted that Captain W. H. Laughton brought his "Galena" into port at 2:00 A.M. on May 1 and that the "War Eagle" landed fifteen minutes later.

And then the deluge! Twenty-five hundred tons of freight were dumped pell-mell upon the St. Paul levee in forty-eight hours by the score of boats that followed the "Galena" and "War Eagle." The St. Paul levee was the "only place of attraction" on those busy, bustling first two days of May, 1857. And on May 3 an additional two thousand tons were discharged, which kept every dray and wagon in St. Paul busy throughout the day and far into the night.³⁴ From Dubuque

³³ *Pioneer*, July 8, 1852; *Pioneer and Democrat*, April 18, 25, 28, 1857; manuscript register of the "Time and Tide," on deposit with the Minnesota Historical Society.

³⁴ *Pioneer and Democrat*, May 3, 5, 1857.

and Galena, St. Louis and New Orleans, Cincinnati and Pittsburgh, came the goods that formed the principal cargoes for steamboats running from St. Paul to the embryonic but swiftly growing valley towns of the Minnesota River. And from Chaska, Shakopee, Carver, Henderson, St. Peter, Mankato, and still smaller entrepôts, the Big Woods country was supplied through the medium of the steamboats that made possible the rapid growth and development of the region.

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IOWA CITY

RALPH WALDO EMERSON IN MINNESOTA

Early in the last week of January, 1867, a heavy snowstorm swept over southeastern Minnesota, the snow piling into deep drifts in valleys and cuts and blockading the scenic river road between La Crosse and Winona. Railroads between these points there were as yet none; so communication between Minnesota and the East was at a standstill until the wagon road should be cleared. On Saturday noon, January 26, a huge snowplow, pulled by fourteen horses and cutting a swath sixteen feet wide, set out from Winona, and by Sunday evening it had reached Trempealeau. The dispatch with which the work had been done met with great praise. "Give us Western enterprise for surmounting difficulties," exclaimed a local enthusiast. On Monday night, January 28, the temperature dropped sharply. According to a local newspaper, "Things snapped with frost as though there was a grand effort of nature at contraction. Mercury stood at twenty degrees below zero this morning at seven o'clock."¹

Such were the conditions in southern Minnesota when Ralph Waldo Emerson, driving in an open sleigh from La Crosse to Winona, entered the state for the first time. His five lectures in this state were part of an extensive tour which took him north to Minneapolis and west and south to Kansas. After 1852, when he spoke in St. Louis, Emerson went west to lecture almost every year. Doubtless he was in part prompted to make these visits by a spontaneous personal interest in the remarkably rapid development of the new country, as the entries in his journals and his own purchase of land in Wisconsin in 1856 attest; but it is likely that he was more definitely influenced by the extent of the field for lecturing in the West, and that, like other men whose business it was to

¹ *Winona Daily Republican*, January 29, 1869.

lecture, he was drawn by the relatively large fees paid by western lecture associations.² He had not visited Minnesota before because of difficulties of travel. Indeed as late as 1865 the St. Paul Library Association despaired of obtaining eastern lecturers as long as the state had no railroad connections with the East.³

The story of Emerson's experiences in Minnesota, because of the paucity of the available records, is soon told. On Wednesday evening, January 30, at half-past seven o'clock, Emerson lectured in Winona on "The Man of the World." The lecture was delivered in the court house hall, the attendance being "quite large." It was the first of a series of six lectures sponsored by the Young Men's Library Association, of which Charles Benson was president; William Mitchell, father of Attorney-general Mitchell, secretary; and D. W. Keyes, chairman of the lecture committee. Emerson's transportation from La Crosse, the scene of his last previous lecture, had been arranged by this association.⁴

Since the existence of a railroad from Winona westward and northward to St. Paul made travel fairly easy, it was with no great inconvenience that Emerson was able to lecture the following evening, January 31, in Faribault. Here, at the instance of the Faribault Lecture and Library Association, he spoke in Fleckenstein's Hall on "American Culture." The local newspaper observed that people as far distant as North-

² Cyrus Woodman Letter Books, vols. 54-61, in the possession of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin; James E. Cabot, *A Memoir of Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 2: 565 (Boston, 1887); *St. Louis Intelligencer*, December 30, 1852; *Newburyport [Massachusetts] Herald*, quoted in *Minnesota Pioneer*, January 20, 1853; *Chicago Tribune*, quoted in *St. Paul Pioneer*, January 2, 1868.

³ *Pioneer*, January 11, 1865.

⁴ *Winona Republican*, January 25, 31, 1867; *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison), January 28, 1867; *Winona Y.M.L.A., Minutes*, May 18, 1867. For the last item the writer is indebted to Miss Jeannette Clarke of the Winona Public Library.

field had come to hear the "profound scholar and essayist." In the *Central Republican* of February 6, 1867, there is every evidence of an intelligent and appreciative reception of the lecture, which was reviewed in considerable detail.

From Faribault Emerson went to St. Paul to lecture on February 1, once more on "The Man of the World." His arrival was heralded generously in two local papers. One presented a biographical sketch of the visitor, the other a "pen and ink portrait"; both wrote of him in high praise. Ingersoll's Hall, where the lecture was given, occupied the third floor of a building erected in 1860 and 1861 on the corner of Third and Wabasha streets. The St. Paul Library Association, which invited Emerson to speak, was organized in 1857 to "promote the intellectual improvement of its members." It was reported that the lecture was attended by one of the largest audiences "ever packed into" Ingersoll's Hall. On the morning following the lecture Emerson, accompanied by Governor Marshall, "visited the Senate, House, Supreme Court and other departments at the Capitol."⁵ That evening Emerson lectured in Minneapolis at the request of the Athenaeum Library Association, and on Sunday evening, February 3, he spoke in the Universalist Church at Fifth Street and Fourth Avenue South, of which the Reverend James H. Tuttle was pastor. Concerning the first of these appearances, a local paper reported with a brevity that can hardly be surpassed: "Ralph Waldo Emerson lectured in Harrison Hall on Saturday evening, to a very large and attentive audience. Lack of space forbids comment." But this laconic gem was matched, nevertheless, by the same paper's account of the address in the Universalist Church: "Religious.—Ralph Waldo Emerson spoke in the Universalist church last Sabbath evening. So

⁵ *Saint Paul Daily Press*, January 30, February 3, 1867; *Pioneer*, February 1, 2, 1867; Edward D. Neill, *History of Ramsey County and the City of St. Paul*, 446 (Minneapolis, 1881); Minnesota, *Laws*, 1857, p. 10-13.

great was the rush of people that scores were unable to obtain admission — among whom was the writer.”⁶

Thus ended Emerson's lecture tour in Minnesota. A few days later, from Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, he wrote to a friend in Chicago:

Such a citizen of the world as you are should look once at these northern towns, which I have seen under the perhaps too smiling face of the mildest, best winter weather, which may be exceptional, though the people almost to a man extol their climate. Minneapolis would strongly attract me if I were a young man,—more than St. Paul.⁷

Although Emerson did not speak in Minnesota again, his presence was requested a second time, as the following letter to J. Fletcher Williams, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, indicates:⁸

CONCORD, MASS^{AS} June 5, 1870.

DEAR SIR;

Your letter containing the invitation of the Minnesota Historical Society to read a discourse before them during the summer, was received some days ago, but at a time when I was so closely engaged by some duties which had been put on me by the University at Cambridge, that I was forced to leave all my correspondence in arrears. The invitation is honoring, & is very attractive to me; but, on serious consideration of the tasks already before me for the summer, I do not find it quite prudent to accept it. Please to offer my respects & my thanks to the Society for this token of their goodwill, & my regret that I should lose the pleasure of meeting them.

Respectfully,
R. W. EMERSON.

J. F. WILLIAMS, Secretary.

⁶ *State Atlas* (Minneapolis and St. Anthony), February 6, 1867. The Reverend Marion D. Shutter, present pastor of the Universalist Church, told the writer that Tuttle spoke of Emerson's lecture long afterward, but that the church records contain no mention of it.

⁷ Edward W. Emerson, *Emerson in Concord*, 181 (Boston, 1890). Emerson was engaged to speak in Fond du Lac on February 6. *Commonwealth* (Fond du Lac), January 23, 1867.

⁸ This letter, in Emerson's own handwriting, is in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Not without precedence does one of Emerson's latest biographers call him "the wisest American," for such was the reputation that preceded the lecturer upon his first appearance in the Middle West, and such was it when he last spoke there in 1871.⁹ "Mr. Emerson," according to the *St. Louis Intelligencer* of December 30, 1852, "has read, studied and swept through the whole range of literature"; and, a little later, in the not distant city of Springfield, Illinois, a writer in the *Daily Journal* for January 7, 1853, asserted that "the profound genius and world wide renown of the lecturer, render all commendation superfluous." Seven years later in Wisconsin, the *State Journal* of Madison for February 7, 1860, published the opinion that "Mr. Emerson, without doubt, is the most original and subtle thinker which America has yet produced," and a writer for the *Daily Wisconsin* of Milwaukee for January 19, 1863, was certain that "there is no more profound and practical thinker." Still a little later a reporter for the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* of January 31, 1865, wrote, "If any man has penetrated to the very heart of American life, it is Emerson." Hence when Emerson spoke in Minnesota during the most extensive of his American lecture tours, the Minnesota papers added to the general acclaim. His lecture on "American Culture," according to the *Central Republican* of Faribault for February 6, 1867, "was fully in keeping with the high reputation of Mr. Emerson as a profound scholar" and revealed "the lecturer's extensive range of reading, his keen analytic powers, and philosophic knowledge of mankind and the world." A writer for the *St. Paul Pioneer* of February 1, 1867, saw in Emerson "one of the foremost of American scholars of the present day — one of the profoundest thinkers and ablest writers. . . . A life time of severe study and wide observation has enabled him to penetrate every domain of knowledge." The *St. Paul Daily Press* of January

⁹ Phillips Russell, *Ralph Waldo Emerson, the Wisest American* (New York, 1929).

30, 1867, published a compliment less flattering now than in the heyday of the *New York Tribune*: "Probably, in the amount of intellectual labor performed he surpasses even Horace Greeley, who has the reputation of being one of the most laborious of men." It is apparent that the *Chicago Evening Post* for November 28, 1871, upon the occasion of Emerson's last western lecture tour, summarized western sentiment when it published the following comment: "If we have a philosopher and sage in the sense those words bore in their application to Plato, Emerson is that man."

Emerson's audiences shared the common curiosity to see a great man in person. There is reason to suspect, indeed, that the lecturer's person was, sometimes, as great an attraction as the substance of his lectures, for, like Greeley, though of course not so generally, he had a reputation for possessing certain personal peculiarities that made him a marked man. That they were exaggerated may be assumed, for such exaggeration is a natural expression of the popular delight in the oddities of genius. Perhaps more people today know about Greeley's white coat than about the editorial policies of his *Tribune*. But Emerson has been remembered as a thinker rather than as a man; consequently one may be surprised, if not shocked, to find him the object of a vulgar scrutiny. Emerson's nose, according to a facetious writer in the *Chicago Times* of December 3, 1871, "is a certain capital in Mr. Emerson's business. It is one of the features that draw. More than half the people who go to see Mr. Emerson, go to see that nose. When Mr. Emerson's Greek paragraphs are rolled off in that peculiar mumble which renders their incomprehensibility more incomprehensible than ever, it is no wonder that the audience naturally falls back on the nose as something tangible, something which comes within the province of the senses, something that compensates for the investment at the door."

Nevertheless, even more serious and respectful observers, influenced by notions formed by seeing such prepossessing plat-

form heroes as Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Tilton, and others, found difficulty in reconciling the subtlety of the essayist with the plainness of the lecturer. "The general feeling," wrote a correspondent from Springfield, Illinois, "seemed to be wonder that such things could be said in such a way by so unpretending a looking man."¹⁰ This feeling was shared by a writer in the *Daily Wisconsin* of Milwaukee for February 10, 1860: "The unassuming and retiring manner, the unpolished and careless exterior, the apparent verdancy . . . of Emerson, are great difficulties above which few men have risen." "Emerson in aspect reminds one of a plain country parson of advancing years," read a comment in the *Cedar Falls [Iowa] Gazette* for February 22, 1867. The first impressions of the man, it is obvious, were disappointing; but the lecturer had to speak but a short while and his audience became aware that, though he was "a plain, unaffected gentleman . . . and looked like an educated well-to-do farmer," he was no common character.¹¹ "He has a rich, deep voice, and a bearing that begets respect — almost reverence. . . . Mr. Emerson has a slight frame, a noble cast of features, and a terribly keen eye," according to the *Milwaukee Daily Sentinel* of January 24, 1865. "He is not what the ladies would call a handsome man," ran a description in the *St. Paul Pioneer* for February 1, 1867, "but at the same time he would anywhere attract attention as a superior person, by the character manifested in his face. He has a peculiarly pleasant smile, and a fine, sonorous, flexible, sympathetic voice." At a later day, when he was nearing seventy years, the *Chicago Tribune* of November 29, 1871, pictured him as follows: "His hair was long, white, thin, and combed closely to his head, as in early colonial days. His manner was slightly stiff and awkward, but that of a true gentleman."

¹⁰ *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), January 13, 1853.

¹¹ *Chicago Tribune*, January 27, 1865.

On the whole, however, the consensus of opinion, marked by notable exceptions, was that Emerson did not excel as a popular lecturer. As early as 1853 an Ohio newspaper said of Emerson's lecture on "Wealth" that "the whole lecture was full of sparkling thought, but the elocution was not of a pleasing character; the diamonds fell unpolished from the lip."¹² But faulty execution did not necessarily presage failure. "Without art, or any of the graces of the orator, with remarkable power he held the attention of all, by a style of thought and expression peculiarly his own, and altogether new to us here." So wrote an officer of the organization which sponsored Emerson's first lectures in St. Louis in 1852 and 1853.¹³ Very sympathetic also was the criticism of the *State Journal* of Madison for February 9, 1860: "But no one can read Emerson, and bring out the subtle thoughts which are so wonderfully crystalized in his compact and perfect sentences as Mr. Emerson himself. With no grace of gesture, there is nevertheless a charm in his manner, in the shifting expression of that New England visage of his, with the keen, seer-like eyes, and the fine, deep, musical voice, which renders him one of the most effective of lecturers." That, certainly, is a well-stated, significant expression of opinion, though no nearer the core of the truth than is the criticism quoted below, a criticism which contains a suggestion revelatory as no other statement that has come to the writer's attention.

The style of the speaker is that which is frequently observed in great thinkers—a certain nervousness of expression, now rapid in motion, now impressively—almost painfully—slow; paying little or no regard to customary punctuation, grammatical or rhetorical; now carrying out a word with great care before he lets it fall, and now splintering them off with much greater rapidity; and in this being governed not at all by the importance of the words, but rather by the motions of his own thoughts. The

¹² *Cincinnati Sun*, quoted in *Pioneer*, January 6, 1853.

¹³ St. Louis Mercantile Library Association, *Seventh Annual Report of the Board of Directors*, 1853, p. 24.

interruptions to his lecture, caused by omissions which he saw fit to make, were by no means pleasant, or conducive to the effect of the whole. He seemed to disobey the maxim of Confucius which he announced in the early part of his discourse, "Whatever you do, let it be thoroughly prepared beforehand."¹⁴

That criticism points at once to the weakness and to the strength of Emerson's lecturing. By ignoring the customary art of the elocutionist, Emerson created a gulf between himself and the conventional listener; by reading from manuscript, as implied in the foregoing quotation, he widened it; and it became almost impassable when he obviously and irritably skipped page after page of the essay before him. In part, his "keen, seer-like eyes" and "fine, deep, musical voice" saved him, though the heart of his success lay farther beneath the surface than that. Much of Emerson's charm as a speaker lay in his ability to create the illusion that his ideas were occurring to him for the first time, that he was revealing the very "motions of his thoughts." "His lectures," according to another writer, "have . . . the qualities of protracted meditation."¹⁵ When Emerson stood on the platform properly keyed, he was the personification of "man thinking." The angular gestures, the awkward poses, the shuffling pages — all these were forgotten the moment the audience felt that it was in the presence of ideas in process of creation. Here, fresh from the depths of a great mind, was thought taking form before one's very eyes.

Perhaps similar sentiments were felt by the man who reported Emerson's address in Winona; at least such outcroppings seem to be evident beneath the loose upper soils of workaday composition:

Mr. Emerson is not a popular lecturer, as that term is generally understood. He says nothing for effect. He makes use of none of the tricks or the graces of oratory for the purpose of dressing out his literary wares to advantage. On the contrary, his manner

¹⁴ *Milwaukee Sentinel*, January 24, 1865.

¹⁵ *St. Louis Intelligencer*, December 30, 1852.

is characterized rather by restraint and stiffness. He speaks—or reads from his manuscript—in a conversational tone, and with great deliberation. Yet he is as attentively listened to as if he were in the habit of "en chaining" the thoughts of his audience, or of carrying them away, by passionate bursts of eloquence.¹⁶

Whether or not Emerson himself was conscious that novelty was one of the secrets of his success as a lecturer, it is certain that he preferred to deliver an address with which his audience was wholly unacquainted. For this reason he objected to the publication of detailed reports of his lectures; indeed, his addresses were sometimes prefaced by a request that the reporters present give only a brief review.¹⁷ Not always were his wishes heeded, however, and, of course, not always was such a desire expressed; frequently the lectures were reviewed in considerable detail, much to the delight of the student, who is thereby enabled to discover some of the devices by means of which, through a series of experiments, the lecturer satisfied himself that his material was suitable to a finished and publishable essay.

Practically everything said in the lecture on "American Culture" delivered in Faribault in 1867 appears in the published essay entitled "Social Aims." But it is interesting to note that probably the major contents of the address had been used as early as 1866, in a lecture bearing the longer title of "Social Aims in America." Some of the features of this earlier address which do not appear in the published essay were employed in still another lecture that Emerson called "Table-Talk," although other portions of "Table-Talk" which are not to be found in "Social Aims in America" are evident in the published essay. It appears, then, that the published "Social Aims," whatever its other possible ingredients,

¹⁶ *Winona Republican*, January 31, 1867.

¹⁷ *Chicago Evening Journal*, January 28, 1865; *Chicago Republican*, March 5, 1867. The latter paper reports such a request made at the instance of Emerson by the Reverend Robert Collyer, who introduced the speaker.

is a mixture, the result of a boiling down of "American Culture," "Social Aims in America," and "Table-Talk."¹⁸

"The Man of the World," never published as an essay, was apparently first delivered on December 11, 1866, before the Parker Fraternity of Boston.¹⁹ Although this title had been used in an earlier lecture and published essay—"Napoleon, or the Man of the World"—there was, as a matter of fact, small similarity between the two, for in the later lecture Napoleon received only passing notice. Because it has been frequently pointed out that the parts of Emerson's essays sometimes follow no apparent logical order, one is not surprised to discover that Emerson not only omitted sections of his lectures from time to time, as has been noted, but that apparently he also altered the arrangement of the divisions of his lectures when it pleased him to do so.²⁰

Since "The Man of the World" was never published, the quotation of occasional sentences from reports of the lecture to show its general character may not be amiss. In some cases, at least, one can be sure that almost the exact words of the speaker have been quoted. Some scattered extracts from the report of the St. Paul lecture follow:

There is a best way of doing everything, and civilization is the having learned the sum of bests.

The so-called men of the world are commonly men of whips and horses, who strain their nerves at the pop of a champagne bottle, but those who study science, the laws of nature, who would find their fellows in persons of real elevation and culture are the true men of the world.

¹⁸ *Dubuque [Iowa] Semi-Weekly Times*, January 26, 1866; *Chicago Tribune*, February 3, 1865; Emerson, *Letters and Social Aims* (Boston, 1876). See the preface to this volume for evidence that in editing the essay for publication, James E. Cabot probably altered the original material.

¹⁹ Cabot, *Memoir of Emerson*, 2: 796.

²⁰ Compare, for example, the reports of Emerson's lectures in the *St. Paul Pioneer*, February 2, 1867, and the *Washington [Iowa] Weekly Press*, February 20, 1867. The order of parts in "American Culture" is very different from that in "Social Aims."

We are in danger of forgetting that the basis of aristocracy is truth and honesty.

Common sense is always right, has the precedence of all wit, all learning. It milks the cow, chops the wood, plants, hoes, reaps, and ministers to the necessities of the race.

Newton said, "Never was a great discovery made without a great guess."

No man of learning listens without envy to the sprightly and telling converse of merchants and men of business, who are so conversant with the world that they talk without embarrassment or restraint.

Men of rare intelligence are naturally solitary.

But it is pleasant to see refinement penetrating into retired homes.

The more piano the less wolf, the less dirt.

There is no face or form so uncomely that it is not loved when associated with high goodness or power.²¹

Another paper included these extracts in a review of "The Man of the World":

It is not a question now whether we shall be a nation but whether we shall be a new nation. The humanity of all nations is in the American Union.

Would that we could feel that this country is the last great charity of the war, the end of all struggles to establish morality as the object of government. . . . The work of America is to make the advance of ideas possible—to prove the principle that everything that is immoral is inhuman. In the condition of America at this hour, prayer has become right. It is relieved of its moral curse, it has no foreign complications; it proposes to do right to all classes of its people, and to make it possible that the American citizen shall be a true man of the world.²²

At St. Paul Emerson's lecture was a substantial success, his audience being the fourth largest in a course of ten speakers. But the audience that heard Theodore Tilton, later to startle the entire United States by his accusations against Henry Ward Beecher, exceeded that of Emerson by twenty-five per

²¹ *Pioneer*, February 2, 1867.

²² Quoted in the *Winona Republican*, January 31, 1867, from an unnamed Chicago newspaper.

cent; and Frederick Douglass, the radical mulatto orator, was so much more of an attraction than Emerson that his St. Paul audience was larger by more than a hundred per cent. Anna Dickinson, a young feminine firebrand who was most popular in her scorching condemnation of President Johnson, likewise proved more popular than Emerson. The attendance at each of her two lectures was larger than that for Emerson's single appearance. The names of the lecturers with the amount of the gross receipts and the expenses incurred for each one's appearance in the St. Paul course follow: Edward Eggleston, gross receipts, \$89.43, expenses, \$51.80; General Sibley, \$125.10, \$46.80; R. W. Emerson, \$289.08, \$146.80; E. L. Youmans, \$112.08, \$146.80; Theodore Tilton, \$361.33, \$176.80; Frederick Douglass, \$589.63, \$188.60; W. H. Milburn, \$94.50, \$205; Bishop Simpson, \$193, \$167.75; Henry Nicholls, two lectures, \$271.30, \$242; Anna Dickinson, two lectures, \$640.75, \$446.75.²³ In the case of the first four lectures, the hall rental seems to have been \$46.80; later it was increased by \$30.

Some evidence as to the popularity of Emerson may be obtained by comparing the figures of the St. Paul Library Association with those of the Young Men's Association of Chicago for a course of lectures also given during the winter of 1867-68. One of the most striking features revealed by the Chicago report is the fact that Emerson and the colored orator were the lowest paid lecturers on the course. This report is interesting, too, because it includes the names of such platform giants as John Gough, the temperance lecturer; Charles Sumner, the statesman; and Wendell Phillips, the political extremist. A complete list, in this case including the sum received by the lecturer, follows: Charles Sumner, gross receipts, \$913.25, amount paid to the lecturer, \$200; Isaac I. Hayes,

²³ *Pioneer*, January 16, 1868. Except for St. Paul, the financial records of Emerson's lectures in Minnesota are incomplete.

\$273.30, \$150; P. B. du Chaillu, \$233.50, \$200; R. W. Emerson, \$165.50, \$100; Henry Vincent, \$296.50, \$150; John B. Gough, \$1,072.60, \$200; Petroleum V. Nasby, \$407.10, \$150; Frederick Douglass, \$358.35, \$100; Rev. G. H. Hepworth, \$51.25, \$110; Anna Dickinson, \$457.10; \$200; E. P. Whipple, \$67, \$110; John Gough, \$719.40, \$200; Wendell Phillips, \$678.65, \$200.²⁴ This statement does not include the names of certain local speakers, such as the Reverend Robert Collyer, who gave their services without charge; but in terms of gross receipts at the lectures of paid speakers, Emerson's lecture, in a list of thirteen, ranks eleventh. In passing judgment on Emerson's popularity and fee, however, it should be remembered that his lecturing experience had extended over a much longer period than that of any of his contemporaries, and that, with John Gough a possible second, he had probably spoken more often than had any of the others.²⁵ His was a lasting if moderate success.

All the evidence shows that Emerson's visit to Minnesota was pleasant to him and satisfying to those who heard him. There was much praise both before and after he spoke, and there is no record of a single harsh criticism. That he was invited by the Minnesota Historical Society to speak in St. Paul a second time makes it indubitably clear that he was held in esteem.

When Emerson died in 1882, an obituary in the *Daily Pioneer Press* of St. Paul described him as the "foremost thinker of the times," and his significance was summarized in the *Minneapolis Tribune* in words that still have validity:

Mr. Emerson leaves to the world no system of philosophy, no orderly presentation of new or great truths; but he has done a great and usually salutary work by stimulating the thought of two generations and by helping courageously to clear away the intellectual rubbish which the centuries had gathered. . . . He

²⁴ Y.M.A. of Chicago, *27th Annual Report*, 1869, p. 8.

²⁵ He had lectured in Chicago eight months before his appearance with the Young Men's Association.

has done the needed work of the iconoclast in so kindly and decorous a way as to hurt as little as possible the enduring good.²⁶

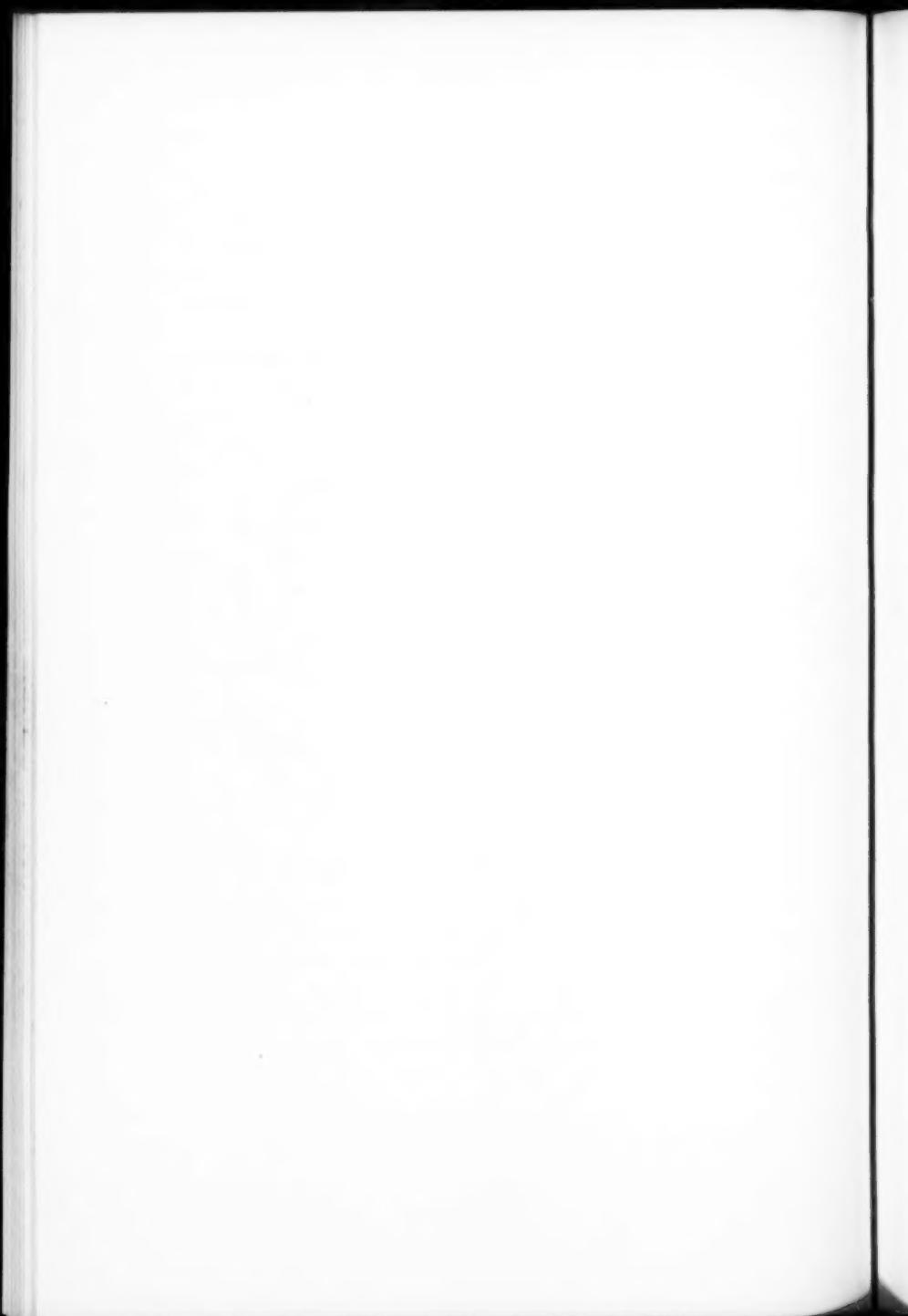
But this criticism does not tell the whole story, for some there are who yet feel that Emerson's living influence not only has not ceased, but that time is still to reveal the day of greatest ascendancy of "the waiting master."²⁷

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²⁶ See the issues of these papers for April 28, 1882.

²⁷ Oscar W. Firkins, *Ralph Waldo Emerson*, 373 (Boston, 1915).



MINNESOTA AS SEEN BY TRAVELERS

UP THE MINNESOTA VALLEY TO FORT RIDGELY IN 1853

The treaties of Traverse des Sioux and Mendota in the summer of 1851 greatly simplified the problem of providing homes for the thousands of immigrants who were flocking to Minnesota Territory. Prior to that date legal settlement had been confined to the region east of the Mississippi below the mouth of the Crow Wing River, but as James M. Goodhue, the editor of the *Minnesota Pioneer*, wrote in the issue for August 16, 1849, "These Sioux lands [*west of the Mississippi*] are the admiration of every body, and the mouth of many a stranger and citizen waters while he looks beyond the Mississippi's flood upon the fair Canaan beyond." Small wonder, then, that Governor Alexander Ramsey worked for a treaty that would open these lands to white settlement.

There was much opposition to the treaties in the Senate during the spring of 1852, and they were not ratified until June 23 of that year. Henry H. Sibley, the territorial delegate in Congress, wrote to Ramsey that "never did any measures have a tighter squeeze through."¹ Even after they were ratified, the eager settlers legally should have waited until the Indians could be removed and surveys made by the general land office. The land speculator and the settler, however, were not to be balked by such minor details as the presence of Indians and the lack of surveys. They went into the region before it was legally open to settlement and some even planted crops. These "sooners" relied upon public sentiment, crystallizing into claim associations, to protect their interests, and they asserted

¹ Sibley to Ramsey, June 26, 1852, Ramsey Papers, in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society; William W. Folwell, *A History of Minnesota*, 1: 266-304 (St. Paul, 1921).

their rights through newspaper announcements such as the following, which ran in the *Weekly Minnesotian* of St. Paul for more than two months from May 14, 1853:

IN FEBRUARY, 1852, Henry M'Lean and myself came to Le Sueur for the purpose of engaging in the Indian Trade. A Land Claim was made by us conjointly for that purpose. The trading was abandoned, and he (M'Lean) left — never made any improvements, nor expended any money thereon, nor has he ever had possession of said property.

On the other hand, I have resided on the claim at Le Sueur; held possession of the property both before and since the ratification of the treaty; have expended my means in improvements, and consider that according to all rules of Claim Associations, my right is singly and indisputably good, which I shall maintain to the last, as well in resisting encroachments, as defending my rights.

May 14

J. E. CHRISTY, Le Sueur.

Not till July 23, 1853, did the *Minnesotian* announce that the general land office had issued orders for the survey of the ceded Sioux lands. Plats for the town sites of Le Sueur and Traverse des Sioux were on view in St. Paul, however, by October 1, 1852.²

Once the Minnesota Valley was thrown open to settlement, it became obvious that troops stationed at Fort Snelling would be a long distance from the seat of any possible trouble with the Sioux, who, by the terms of the treaties of 1851, would be removed to reservations extending along the Minnesota from the mouth of Little Rock Creek to Lake Traverse. Consequently on July 12, 1852, Sibley wrote to General Winfield Scott recommending the establishment of a military post on the Minnesota near the proposed reservations. Water transportation would be available, and timber was abundant in the upper country. Sibley's letter bore the indorsement of several Iowa and Wisconsin Congressmen. His suggestion met with

² *Minnesotian*, June 12, August 7, September 18, October 2, 1852; July, 23, 1853; 33 Congress, 1 session, *Senate Executive Documents*, no. 1, p. 221 (serial 690).

favor, and a board of officers consisting of Colonel Francis Lee of the Sixth United States Infantry and Captain Napoleon J. T. Dana of the quartermaster corps was appointed to select an eligible location. Its report, dated December 7, 1852, was approved by the commanding general. Companies C and K from Fort Snelling and Company E from Fort Dodge, all of the Sixth United States Infantry, were selected to build and garrison the new post. Captain Dana was named quartermaster and was given the responsibility for transporting and provisioning the troops. The Fort Snelling companies were instructed to get to the new site as early as possible in the spring of 1853.³

During the period of high water in the early spring vessels of fair size, which normally plied the Mississippi, could operate on the Minnesota River. Such boats were used in transporting troops and supplies to the site of the proposed fort, for their large cargo capacities greatly simplified that proceeding. A special trip of this kind afforded an unusual opportunity for observing the new country, as well as for gathering material that could be used in the columns of the newspapers. Consequently the St. Paul newspapers had their correspondents on the first boats to go to the new fort site.

The publishers of the *Minnesota Democrat*, though alert to the importance of the Minnesota Valley,⁴ do not seem to have been particularly interested in the fort project, which had been fostered by Sibley, one of their political abominations. This paper did not mention the movement of troops up the valley

³ The information about the founding of the fort is taken from an anonymous manuscript history of "Fort Ridgely, Minnesota," in the possession of the Minnesota Historical Society. The account was compiled in Washington from the archives of the war department and was sent to the society in 1880 by order of Ramsey, who was then secretary of war. A map showing the Sioux reservations is in Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 324.

⁴ The *Democrat* did have a correspondent, Dr. T. T. Mann, on board the "Clarion," which left St. Paul on April 22, 1853, and his letters appear in the issues of that paper for April 27, May 4, 11, and 18, 1853.

in April, 1853, and it barely referred to the new fort as the point to which cargoes on the "West Newton," the "Clarion," and the "Tiger" were consigned. In the columns of the *Minnesotian* for 1852 and 1853 many items and articles about Minnesota Valley development were published, and an extended account of the trip to establish the new fort appears in the issue for May 7, 1853, spread over four of the seven columns on its principal news page. In addition, a fifth column is devoted to a letter from a correspondent at Traverse des Sioux. These two narratives are here reprinted because of the detailed information they give about conditions along the Minnesota River in the spring of 1853.

From internal evidence in the account of the expedition, there can be little doubt that its author was John P. Owens, the editor of the *Minnesotian*. That the writer was a journalist is evident not only from the character of the writing, but also from a reference to Moses Y. Beach, the owner of the *New York Sun*, as a "gentleman of our profession, ready to impart at all times his experience and advice to his younger brothers of the quill." The Traverse des Sioux correspondent — whose own identity has not been determined — mentions the fact that Owens "loomed up on the hurricane deck" as the "West Newton" swung into the landing at Traverse des Sioux, and it is therefore known that he was a member of the party aboard that boat. Finally, the article appears in the regular editorial space of Owens' newspaper.

WILLOUGHBY M. BABCOCK

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. PAUL

[*Minnesotian* (St. Paul), May 7, 1853]

A TRIP TO THE NEW FORT

THE OCCASION

The exigencies of the public service have, the past week, accomplished that which private enterprize has heretofore fallen

some fifty or a hundred miles short of. For the past three years, the people hereabout have greatly desired the penetration by steam-boat of that heretofore *terra incognita*, the portion of the Minnesota Valley above the point attained by the Yankee during the summer of 1850. The region being unknown to boatmen, and the risk of running up so high amid the serpentine windings and labyrinthine dells and entanglements of heavy timber and under-growth being considered very great, it was scarcely possible to expect the accomplishment of such an undertaking at private expense, particularly as individuals have as yet no business thitherward that would justify so great an outlay.⁵ But the preparations of the government for removing the Sioux Indians to their new home, and the attendant arrangements for military defence of the adjacent frontier, have mingled profit with convenience in exploring these wilds.

The steamer West Newton, Capt. D[aniel] S. Harris, of the Galena and Minnesota Packet Line, a boat about 150 feet in length, and three hundred tons burthen, was selected by Capt. Dana, of the Quartermaster's department, to make this pioneer voyage.⁶ The Newton was well adapted to the task. Of great strength and power, and in the hands of skillful men, it was felt that if there were dangers and difficulties in the way of reaching the destined point, she would be better able to brave them than any other craft known in these waters. She left St. Paul on Tuesday afternoon of last week [April 26], and was detained during the evening and night at Fort Snelling, taking on board the two companies of Infantry, which are to form part of the garrison at the new post, and their effects. Soldiers and soldiers' baggage—soldiers' wives and soldiers' children—soldiers' stores and soldiers' equipments—soldiers' cattle and soldiers' dogs are

⁵ Four excursions up the Minnesota River were made during the summer of 1850 by Mississippi River packets, one of which went about three hundred miles upstream. William J. Petersen, "The Early History of Steamboating on the Minnesota River," *ante*, p. 126.

⁶ The "West Newton" made its appearance in the upper Mississippi trade in the summer of 1852, announcing a semi-weekly schedule between St. Paul and Galena. Captain Russell Blakeley, "History of the Discovery of the Mississippi River and the Advent of Commerce in Minnesota," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 8: 389.

huddled together, and strewn about the boat from engine room to 'Texas.' We awake Wednesday morning, and find the Newton with a heavily laden barge in tow, plowing the placid 'sky-colored water' near Good-Road's village.⁷ The river is high — some thirty or forty feet above low water mark. The bottom lands of the Minnesota Valley are all under water, many places of sufficient depth to navigate a steamboat twice the size of ours. The morning air comes bracing from the hills, and the company of the cabin are out upon the guards and the hurricane deck enjoying it.

THOSE ABOARD

Our number is small, and those composing it of the most agreeable and intelligent character, which fact promises that we are to have a pleasant time of it. With us journeys the veteran pioneer of the American penny newspaper press, Moses Y. Beach, Esq., and his agreeable lady, accompanied by their traveling companion, Miss Hobbs, an English lady of education and brilliant accomplishments, and withal one apparently specially sent to enliven and add to the charms of a journey into the wilderness, such as this. We regret to find Mr. Beach an invalid after the laborious years he has passed in an active and exacting business. But having amassed a competency by patient toil, he is disposed to enjoy it rationally and properly. We have never met a more affable and agreeable gentleman of our profession, ready to impart at all times his experience and advice to his younger brothers of the quill.⁸ Then we have the lady of Capt. Harris, a proficient in and enthusiastic admirer of the natural sciences, which promises to be of advantage to us in our researches among the soils, rocks and plants of the Upper Minnesota. She has as her guest a well known St. Paul lady, whose enthusiasm for pioneering, and being

⁷ Good Road's village was near the mouth of Nine Mile Creek on the north bank of the Minnesota. On a map drawn in 1835 it is located seven miles from Fort Snelling by water. Samuel W. Pond, "The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as They Were in 1834," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 327; Lawrence Taliaferro, map of the "Site of the Agency at St. Peters," tube 129, map 540, Indian Office, Washington. The Minnesota Historical Society has a photostatic copy of this map.

⁸ Beach was the owner of the *New York Sun*; he was connected with that paper from 1835 to 1857.

MINNESOTA RIVER TOWNSITES

IN 1853

Scale of Miles

Loc qui Parte

the first white woman to set foot upon this and that remote, out-of-the way place is proverbial.⁹ Capt. Dana, to whose energy and determination we are indebted for having so commodious a boat for the trip, with Capt. [James] Monroe and Lieut. [John C.] Kelton of the Sixth Infantry, and Hon. B[enjamin] H. Randall, who is to be the Sutler at the new post, together with six or eight other gentlemen, some of whom are strangers, complete the list. A very excellent and desirable company, neither too large nor too small.

ADVANCE OF IMPROVEMENT

We had not ascended the Minnesota since the title to these broad acres passed from savage to civilized hands. The mark of the pioneer settler is everywhere apparent along the shores. Here in Hennepin County is the settlement known as Bloomington, a clean, tidy looking place, with farms opening all around. Presently we are up to Shakopee, quite a town already, with busy life and activity thronging the landing. Quite a difference this, since the summer of 1850, when we used to land in front of the Indian village just below, and all the boats were compelled to pay tribute to the old beggar chief for whom the town is named, who rigidly enforced his custom house regulations, backed by his young men as tide waiters and executors of the requirements of a revenue police generally. Many of our old St. Paul neighbors have pitched their tents here. The original proprietor, our old friend Holmes, has gathered about him the proper elements to make his town go ahead and himself a rich man.¹⁰ Here is Robert Kennedy, Esq., with his family, keeping the new and elegant hotel, a house nearly or quite as large as the Central, in St. Paul. Back from the river

⁹ This was Miss Harriet Bishop, whose account of the trip, including selections from the present narrative, appears in her *Floral Home*, 288-300 (New York, 1857).

¹⁰ Shakopee was named for the Sioux chief whose village was located on the site. It was also known as Holmes's Landing in honor of the town-site proprietor, Thomas A. Holmes, who located there in 1851. Alfred T. Andreas, *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the State of Minnesota*, 232 (Chicago, 1874).

upon most excellent farming claims are located Nobles, and Barnes, and others of St. Paul's old citizens.¹¹ — As we approach the 'Little Rapids' we are informed by a sign-board upon a post that the place now opposite us is 'Louisville' — the landing of a trading post occupied by Capt. Louis Roberts.¹² No sign of any rapids. The water is perhaps thirty feet upon the slight ledge of crumbling sandstone which aforetime was so great an obstruction in the minds of some to the navigation of this river, and which in the worst view of the case can be blown to atoms with two or three kegs of powder.

We travel on, and about noon another enterprise by some of the St. Paul boys — Bevans' Landing — comes in sight. Just as we are approaching it, one of our wheels badly 'lets down,' and we are compelled to stop for repairs. Glad of it! We will have a chance to see how our friends are getting along up here in the woods. We find 'Cor.' and his brother, the younger Bevans, and two or three others of our old neighbors, hard at work, clearing and breaking ground, and not at all dressed or wearing their former appearance of townspeople. They are all glad to see us, however, and we them.¹³ We remained here five hours and a half, and had ample time for an extensive stroll over the surrounding country. Our wheel mended, we jogged on, and tied up for the night at Walker's Landing at the lower verge of the 'Big

¹¹ William H. Nobles and Comfort Barnes were two of Scott County's first officials after its organization in 1853, the former holding the offices of register of deeds and county surveyor and the latter being a county commissioner. In 1857 Nobles had charge of a government expedition which traced out a wagon road from Fort Ridgely to the Pacific. He also discovered Nobles' Pass through the Rocky Mountains. Andreas, *Atlas of Minnesota*, 232; J. Fletcher Williams, *A History of the City of Saint Paul and of the County of Ramsey*, 194 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 4).

¹² Robert was a prominent trader, real estate dealer, and steamboat owner of St. Paul. Williams, *Saint Paul*, 140-143.

¹³ Corydon D. Bevans advertised in the *Minnesota Pioneer* for November 22, 1849, as a dealer in stoves and a manufacturer of all kinds of tin and copper ware. He and his brother, Henry L. Bevans, were living in St. Paul in 1850. Williams, *St. Paul*, 266.

Woods.'¹⁴ Soon the next morning, we passed that noted place of great water privilege, Henderson. The inhabitants had deserted their inundated dwellings, and were abiding in tents pitched upon a wood flat. We understand our friend [Joseph R.] Brown, the proprietor of Henderson, gives it as his opinion that the inundation of the site is caused by the immense quantity of wood he has cut and piled upon the bank — the ground becoming greatly depressed by the weight thereof! We hope this theory may prove true, and that Henderson will be 'let up' after awhile.

We journey along finely, and are soon at Le Sueur City. This beautiful and eligible town site we have frequently alluded to during the past eighteen months, and right glad were we to approach it, now that it has donned the habiliments of civilized life and business. It is a place that must ever gladden the eye of the traveler as he passes from the thick and monotonous foliage of the 'Big Woods' which skirts either side of the river for miles and miles below. Le Sueur again comes out to the river's bank after we pass a bend of bottom land of a mile or two in extent. It is only half a mile, however, across the prairie from the lower to the upper landing and eventually the extremes, like the upper and lower ends of St. Paul, will meet, forming one continuous town. Both landings exhibit the most encouraging signs of progress and business activity. Settlers are rapidly taking up good farming claims in the vicinity; all going to show that Le Sueur has a 'sure thing' of becoming a place of note.

At Traverse des Sioux the whole population, white and red, turned out to welcome the West Newton, and there were not a few of them when all were arrayed in line along the shore. As our Traverse correspondent writes at full length concerning this point, we will pass on with the remark that here we learned the howling Tiger, which left St. Paul the previous Saturday, was not very far ahead of us, and that on her way up she passed up over the line of the contemplated canal in front of Traverse, from the

¹⁴ Walker's Landing eventually became the town of Faxon in Sibley County. Three brothers, Joseph, Cornelius, and Hartwell Walker, settled on the site in 1852, and the latter was postmaster for a time. Edward D. Neill, *History of the Minnesota Valley*, 433 (Minneapolis, 1882).

landing to Rock Bend, saving some two or three miles in distance by the operation, and demonstrating that canals are sometimes navigable before they are dug.¹⁵ We presume our boat could have taken the same track at this stage of water and come out safe. Rock Bend has just been laid out into town lots. It is a mere extension of Traverse, and a very handsome and eligible one at that, with a good landing in front.

A few miles further up, we passed Babcock's Landing, and presently the place where Kasota is to be. We understand Mr. B[abcock] has his sawmill in fine order and running, and that houses are forthwith to be built in Kasota with lumber therefrom. Our Traverse correspondent also speaks at length of this place. We understand also that some eight or ten of the Northampton colony have settled in the vicinity of Kasota, and are much pleased with the country.¹⁶ At four o'clock P. M. we reached Mankato. There are two Mankatos, as well as two Le Sueurs, lying side by side. The lower and newest one is the property of our enterprising fellow-citizen, Henry McKenty, Esq., and is already not un-

¹⁵ The proposed canal probably was to cut across the low ground in front of Traverse des Sioux, thus eliminating a large bend in the river. Another reference to it occurs *post*, p. 183. For a reference to the "Tiger," a small Minnesota River boat, see Petersen, *ante*, p. 130. Rock Bend was a town-site project on the north bank of the Minnesota; it developed into the city of St. Peter. William G. Gresham, *History of Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties*, 1: 192 (Indianapolis, 1916).

¹⁶ Joseph W. Babcock's claim, which seems to have been known as Babcock's Landing, adjoined Kasota on the north at the mouth of Chankaska Creek in Le Sueur County. Kasota was platted by Babcock and Ovid Pinney in 1855. During the winter of 1852-53 Babcock was a forwarding and commission merchant at St. Paul. The Northampton colony was a project of the Minnesota Claim Association, which was organized about 1852 at Northampton, Massachusetts. Its president and an agent arrived in St. Paul during the winter of 1852-53 to make preliminary arrangements for the members, who were to emigrate to the new region when navigation opened. The colony, however, did not materialize, for the members scattered upon arriving at St. Paul. Some twenty located in the vicinity of Lake Minnetonka in Hennepin County, others settled along the Cannon River in Rice County, and still others went to Kasota. *Minnesotian*, December 11, 1852; January 15, February 5, 26, April 9, May 7, 1853; Gresham, *Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties*, 1: 402, 403.

known to fame.¹⁷ It has all the advantages of the old Mankato, and if one advances the other must. At the original landing we found P[arsons] K. Johnson and family, and many more old St. Paulers. They say they had a very cold winter up there, and that last summer the mosquitoes killed and nearly devoured a mule.

Wooding at Mankato, we again started out, and at six o'clock passed the mouth of Blue Earth river, having been about twenty hours running time in reaching that point from Fort Snelling. The boat got on slowly, owing to the weight she carried and towed, and the time lost in making short bends. The river very perceptibly diminishes in width above the Blue Earth, and also becomes more crooked.

By stopping time at dark we were above the point reached by the Yankee. We are prepared to state as the deliberate judgment of all on board the Newton, as well as from our own observation, that the character of the country greatly improves after passing Blue Earth. The soil is better, so is the timber. One of the richest and most beautiful prairies we ever beheld, near where we laid by, was named West Newton Prairie, in honor of the first steamboat¹⁸ that had ever plowed the blue waters along its verdant and flower-clad margin. If we were going to make a 'claim,' we would go right up to that point. The prairie and timber lands are both of the very best quality — would pass for No. 1 in any country.

ON NEW WATERS

We were now upon a portion of the beautiful Minnesota never rippled by the machinery of Fulton, until the Tiger passed up the day previous. Soon we would overhaul and pass her, and then we would assume the pioneership. — Taking an early start, we accomplished this end before breakfast time. We found the menagerial craft jammed up in a short bend of the river, with Captain and all hands ashore chopping wood. We shot past her, and the

¹⁷ McKenty settled at St. Paul in 1851 and later developed the town site of Mankato City. The *Minnesotian* carried his advertisements with fair regularity during 1853.

¹⁸ The "West Newton" was the second boat, as the "Tiger" had already passed this point.

next turn were out of sight. She had been five days making this distance from Fort Snelling, although we have no doubt she took it easy and leisurely along, and perhaps might have done better. The Tiger is to be preferred to no navigable craft at all. The country continues to improve and the river to grow worse. The soil is richer and deeper, the trees are more plentiful and larger, and the river is more snakishly twisted about and contracted. The bluffs incline evenly and gradually up from the bank; on the north side mostly prairie, on the south heavily beset with huge sugar maples, ashes, elms, white walnuts and lindens. The view is monotonous until you reach the mouth of the Cotton-Wood, a considerable stream from the south, save a few miles below said mouth you discover on the northern shore high bluffs of red sand, underlaid with a strata of palish blue. Upon examination, there are strong indications of iron ore at this point, and some slight signs of coal. The sand of these bluffs is nearly as deep red as the Sioux pipe-stone. — They have a very beautiful and imposing appearance from the water.

COTTON-WOOD* RIVER

As we have remarked, this is a considerable tributary to the Minnesota, coming in from the south. It is next in size to the Blue Earth. — We are now at the mouth of it, ten o'clock, Friday. It disembogues through a high prairie, stretching far away on either side. A rocky prairie is also opposite on the north bank of the Minnesota, and in the river are several small islands, which render the navigation bad. The Cotton-Wood bears off to the south-west, through a most fertile and well wooded valley, and in the course of seventy-five miles approaches a point within three miles of the *Des Moines* river, which every body knows discharges itself into the Mississippi below Keokuk. It runs also at the point where it so nearly approaches the *Des Moines* within five miles of the Big Sioux river, which enters the Missouri at the point of our south-western Territorial boundary. The Cotton-Wood country abounds in game, and is consequently a favorite resort of the Indians. 'Sleepy-Eyes' has his village at the mouth of the stream. The valley of the Cotton-Wood will one day support

* Dakota, *Waraju*, and so laid down on the maps. [Author's note]

a dense white population.¹⁹ From what we can gather it is one of the gardens of the late Sioux Purchase, and will consequently settle rapidly when the tide of emigration once becomes set that way.

STILL MORE SNAKY

We are now compelled to proceed more slowly, as the river continues to become more and more serpentine in its course. We are expecting every moment to find it tied up in a double bow-knot. The bluffs are some three miles apart, with the intervening valley slightly timbered, and at this time covered with water. The course of the river is an interminable zig-zag, a continuous tacking almost at right angles with the line of bluffs — which is remarkably straight, even and uniform — from one side of the valley to the other. We are frequently compelled to run five or six miles to make the distance of our boat's length in the general course and direction we are traveling. It has been suggested that if it were possible to hitch on to the head of this river and draw it out straight, it would afford a navigable stream to the foot of the Rocky Mountains. There is plenty of water, however — not less than twenty-five or thirty feet anywhere in the channel.— Mr. Fawcett, the clerk, is drawing a correct map of this section of the stream, which will be a rare curiosities. It would take the premium for screwing and twisting at the World's Fair, and we hope it will be sent on by Le Duc.²⁰ — Capt. Dana is of opinion we will soon have a glimpse from a considerable distance at the new Fort site.

¹⁹ Less than two years after this was written a party of German colonists founded New Ulm at the mouth of the Cottonwood. A sketch of Sleepy Eyes, chief of the Cottonwood River band of Sisseton Sioux, is included among Stephen R. Riggs' "Dakota Portraits," *ante*, 2: 484-495.

²⁰ William Fawcett or Fauchette was chief clerk on the "War Eagle" with Captain Harris in 1854. An exhibit for Minnesota Territory to be sent to the world's fair known as the Crystal Palace Exhibition in New York City in 1853 was being assembled by William G. Le Duc. George B. Merrick and William R. Tibbals, "Genesis of Steamboating on Western Rivers: With a Register of Officers on the Upper Mississippi 1823-70," in State Historical Society of Wisconsin, *Proceedings*, 1911, p. 125; William G. Le Duc, "Minnesota at the Crystal Palace Exhibition, New York, 1853," *ante*, 1: 351-368.

Twelve o'clock; aye, there it is, and some miles this side we have a fine view of

LA FRAMBOISE'S TRADING POST

This place is known as 'Little Rock'²¹. It is a noted point on the river; and we will proceed directly to it in a little less time than it took the Newton to travel there by stream from the spot where she first came in sight of it. We reached La Framboise's, then, at three o'clock P. M., distant from the Fort five miles by land and fifteen or twenty by water. The site of Little Rock is a bold point forming the extreme inner angle of one of the great bends of the river, and is skirted on either side with level and rich prairie land, extending back half a mile to the bluffs. The point is covered with huge granite rocks, some the size of medium dwelling houses. Some two hundred yards back from the river, Mr. La Framboise has his dwelling, trading and store houses, and other accompaniments to a post of this character—the whole enclosed with high and formidable pickets. The worthy old trader, who has resided in this lonely wilderness home since 1838, came down with his entire household to welcome us, greatly elated that his favorite wish was at length gratified by having a steamboat at his door. His situation is one of the most beautiful and imposing upon the river. The land about it is of the best quality, and no farmer in Minnesota has raised finer crops than Mr. La Framboise at Little Rock. He intends having his place laid out as a town site shortly, when those desirous of going into the very *highest* speculation upon the Minnesota river can take hold. There will be no town above it for many years, as the new military reserve approaches within half a mile. After wooding, and allowing our people to gratify their curiosity by a general survey of the premises, we shoved off for

²¹ Joseph Laframboise began trading with the Sioux of southwestern Minnesota in 1822. At Little Rock he was an agent of the American Fur Company. See Riggs, *ante*, 2: 490. The Little Rock post is located on a tracing of a map of the Fort Ridgely area drawn by Lieutenant John Kelton, in the manuscript history of the fort. This map must have been prepared during the first year of the existence of the fort, since it was drawn by order of Major Samuel Woods, who was the commandant from May 21, 1853, to May 23, 1854.

THE FORT

After five or six more ramifications greater than any yet made, the Newton stopped her engines at the end of her journey at five o'clock. Five or six dragoons had been in charge of the place during the winter, who were now to be relieved by the superior force we had carried up. Soon the baggage was ashore, the tents pitched upon the green prairie, and the camp fires lighted. It is a beautiful spot, but until the buildings are completed, promises no such comfortable quarters as those left behind at Fort Snelling. The soldiers' wives view the scene with melancholy sensations and forebodings of hardship, sickness and death to themselves and children, from exposure to tent life during the summer. Few eyes are dry among them, while in some instances our sympathies are aroused by loud and bitter sobs. To be a soldier in the ranks is a hard and trying fate, but to be a soldier's wife, with a family of small children set down upon this remote and lonely frontier, with nothing but canvass to shelter them from the scorching rays of a summer's sun and the "peltings of the pitiless storm," is vastly more trying to the poor victims, and agonizing to the better feeling of humanity.

As we remained at the Fort until ten o'clock Saturday morning, a fine opportunity was afforded for viewing this new theatre of frontier defence. The location is beautiful and admirably chosen. The reserve has been laid off five miles square, one-half of which is on the Indian reservation and the other half upon the ceded lands. Little Rock river, a small stream, which is the lower boundary of the Indian reservation, enters the Minnesota about half a mile below the site of the Fort.²² The immediate site of the works is a level and elevated prairie, affording a fine view for many miles up and down the valley. The bluff in front is not abrupt, but slopes gradually toward the river. The hill side is covered with a beautiful grove of large oaks, which will afford a most magnificent park when the grounds are properly improved.

— Between the base of the hill and the river's shore is a level

²² The military reservation of Fort Ridgely extended for seven miles along the Minnesota River with the fort as the center, was almost rhombic in shape, and contained 45.15 square miles, as shown on the Kelton map in the manuscript history of "Fort Ridgely, Minnesota."

piece of prairie, varying from twenty to a hundred yards in width. Looking out to the northwest from the site of the Fort, the eye rests upon the immense and almost interminable plain, extending to Red river and beyond. The prairie lands in the immediate vicinity of the Fort are very rich, with the best of opportunities for good farms and gardens for the use of the garrison. On the opposite side of the river are extensive bottom lands, which will afford all the timber and wood that will ever be required. We think Capt. Dana deserves credit for the selection he has made, although some of the soldiers appeared to think it the worst place they ever beheld.

The post is not yet named.²³ Capt. Monroe will have command until the arrival of Major Woods with his company from Iowa. The work of building the Fort will immediately commence. Several mechanics went up with us from St. Paul for this purpose, who have before them a two or three years' job. Mr. J[esse] H. Pomeroy of St. Paul is the master carpenter.²⁴ The walls and buildings are to be of stone, a species of granite, plenty of which is found immediately adjacent.

Saturday morning last opened most beautifully and gloriously, and from the summit of the high bluff one of the most magnificent views in the country lay before the eye. Its natural quiet was broken by the distant howling of the Tiger, whose steam could now be seen far down the serpentine river towards La Framboise's.— About nine o'clock, she arrived, and landed alongside the Newton. She was bound for the new Agency, thirty miles above; and started out from St. Paul with twenty head of cattle belonging to Robert Cummings, of St. Anthony, who has the contract for breaking ground at the Agency.²⁵ Cummings finding progress rather slow, took his cattle ashore at Traverse des Sioux, and proceeded to drive them up by land. He succeeded in reach-

²³ By a military order issued on June 27, 1853, the post was named Fort Ridgely in honor of three army officers who died in the Mexican War.

²⁴ Pomeroy settled in Minnesota in 1845 and did construction work at Fort Ripley from 1849 to 1851. "Fort Ridgely, Minnesota"; Warren Upham and Mrs. Rose B. Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies, 1655-1912*, 14: 607 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 14).

²⁵ The agency established in 1853 was later known as the lower Sioux or Redwood agency. Andreas, *Atlas of Minnesota*, 179.

ing the Fort the same evening we did, beating the Royal Bengal several hours!

A few Indians were loitering about the grounds during the morning. They were Seesetoans, belonging to 'Gun's' band.²⁴ One, a remarkably fine and noble looking young fellow, appeared to deeply interest our New York ladies, and presents were lavished upon him without stint. The evening previous but a solitary Indian was upon the ground when we landed. He stood for some minutes, resting upon his gun, and with the stoicism and taciturnity of the red man, contemplated the debarkation of the troops. One of the strangers remarked that he was in all probability reflecting upon the rapid inroads our people were making into his country, and looking forward to the time when all his race would fall and become extinct, buried beneath the rapidly advancing wave of Anglo-Saxon civilization. One better acquainted with Indians and Indian character, suggested that it was greatly more probable he was calculating the chances as to whether the barrels which were being rolled ashore contained whisky, and if so, how he would go to work to procure a portion of their contents. The Indian, at this juncture, seeing we were all laughing at him, shouldered his gun and marched off across the hills.

HOMeward Bound

All things being in readiness, we took leave of our military friends at ten o'clock Saturday, and headed down stream. The wind was rising, and by the time we had been out an hour was blowing a furious gale. No running in this crooked stream to-day; so we are tied up in the bushes, with water all around us—prisoners for the time with no chance of getting ashore. Here we were held till late on Sunday afternoon, when the wind falling we proceeded. Mr. La Framboise got aboard at his place to come down with us, bringing the proceeds of his winter's traffic. Some eight or ten miles below his house we laid by for the night at a high and beautifully timbered bank. At this spot rests the mortal

²⁴ The first Indian to sign the treaty of Traverse des Sioux was Eenyangmanee (Inyangmani), whose name means "Running Walker" or "the Gun." He was chief of the Lac qui Parle band of Sioux. Samuel W. Pond, "The Dakotas or Sioux in Minnesota as They Were in 1834," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 12: 330; Riggs, *ante*, 2: 509, 510.

remains of Cameron, a noted Indian trader of the previous century, and a contemporary of the notorious Dixon.²⁷

Early the next day, we met the Clarion on her way up, about five miles below the mouth of Cotton-Wood. Many of our citizens were aboard, including Agent M'Lean with his effects for the new Agency.²⁸ Thus at this one time were three boats on the waters of the Minnesota, all above the highest point previously attained in navigating the river by steam, and one of them a first-class Upper Mississippi packet. This is something to be remembered and talked of.

Time and space admonish that we must cut our narrative short. We have many facts and pleasing incidents we would wish to note, but they must be deferred. As we advanced down the river, everything indicated great life and activity at the different settlements and landings. The Newton arrived at St. Paul Tuesday evening, having been absent just one week, nearly two days of which she was detained by wind. Every one on board returned highly pleased with the excursion. The journey as high up as the new Fort cannot fail to interest and greatly add to a knowledge of the vast resources of the Minnesota Valley. There will, perhaps, be many opportunities the present season for our citizens to make the trip, and we advise all who can do so not to let the occasions pass. The river is a navigable stream as far as the new sites of the government operations up the valley, and boats will go there whenever business will make paying trips.

We have returned more than ever convinced that the vast agricultural, and perhaps mineral, resources of this valley have not at

²⁷ Both Murdock Cameron and Robert Dickson traded in the Minnesota country as early as 1805. Cameron died in 1811 while on a canoe voyage down the Minnesota and was buried on a bluff near Lac qui Parle. During the War of 1812 Dickson was untiring in his efforts to keep the Indians of the Northwest firm in their alliance with the British. "Pike's Explorations in Minnesota, 1805-6," in *Minnesota Historical Collections*, 1: 375 (1872); George W. Featherstonhaugh, *A Canoe Voyage up the Minnay Sotor*, 2: 315 (London, 1847); Louis A. Tohill, *Robert Dickson, British Fur Trader on the Upper Mississippi* (1927).

²⁸ Nathaniel McLean was Sioux agent at Fort Snelling from 1849 to 1853. He was succeeded at Fort Ridgely by R. G. Murphy on May 28, 1853. Indian Office, *Reports*, 1853, p. 74.

all been exaggerated — rather underrated than otherwise. Rich and desirable farming lands there are in abundance every mile, with all the facilities of timber and water, as well as fine building stone. Iron we are certain will be found in abundance and we are much deceived if immense coal fields should prove to be a great distance off.

Correspondence of the *Minnesotian*

LETTERS FROM THE MINNESOTA VALLEY

Traverse des Sioux, April 29, 1853.

MESSRS. EDITORS: — The book of the future for Traverse des Sioux and the region of the upper Minnesota beyond us, opens with the promise of a very active summer. The speculation so rife in St. Paul during the winter, in Traverse des Sioux lots, are apparently about to bear some substantial fruit. You would be surprised to see the quantity of squared timber that has been got out the past three or four months, and which fairly crowds up the main street.²⁹ — Among it I notice the heavy and substantial timbers for the frame of Sibley's new warehouse, at the landing, 40 feet by 80, handsomely got by D. R. Kennedy, who is in charge of the Fur Company's Outfit here, and who was an old hand at such business in Canada. George McLeod, Martin's brother, a regular go-ahead citizen, an old Otawa river timber merchant, has likewise two heavy frames out — one for a warehouse 40 feet by 26, and the other for a dwelling.³⁰ Besides these, I count 23 buildings of various kinds, most of them large, for which the frames and part of the lumber are on the ground, or being sawed, and which are under contract to be put up in the next two months. Every steamboat lands large lots of lumber, supplies and passengers. The *Greek Slave* was the first arrival on the 7th of

²⁹ Trading in shares of prospective towns in the Sioux country seems to have been the cause of considerable excitement in St. Paul in the spring of 1853. Traverse des Sioux figures prominently in the columns of the *Minnesotian* during the winter of 1852-53, both in the news items and the communications, and the reader gets the impression that the town had an active set of promoters. *Minnesotian*, March 19, 1853.

³⁰ George A. McLeod went to Minnesota as a trader in 1852 and located on a claim at Traverse des Sioux. Upham and Dunlap, *Minnesota Biographies*, 476.

April,³¹ the Clarion on the 22d was the next; and the Tiger on the 27th the third; and all disgorged a great deal of freight at the landing. I almost forgot to mention that one of the buildings going up, is a hotel by Mr. [George H.] Spencer, and another, a large livery stable by Mr. Myrick,³² while Benj. Thompson, Esq., has contracted for the erection of a series of fine tenements under one roof, 105 by 24 feet; and Jack Frazier for a trading house and dwelling 40 feet by 32.³³ Besides the importation of lumber from below, two saw-mills are now in active operation, to supply building materials for the people of the Traverse. About four or five miles above, J. W. Babcock has a mill — what is termed an over-shot wheel and muley saw — which is rapping away in fine style at the rate of 8000 or 9000 feet a day, with some 500 logs on the ground, ready for a brisk summer's business. Basswood, the different varieties of oak, huge cottonwood, plenty of black and white walnut, with hachberry and ash, are his principal timber, and there's plenty of it. He delivers his timber at the Traverse for \$14 per M. It is about a mile and a half above this mill, on the same side of the river that the new town of *Kah-so-tah* has just been laid out, on a most beautiful site; and as it commands an extensive back country, with convenience of access to it, and facilities for a fine ferry, and the best point I know of for a bridge in case the Railroad from Dubuque should ever come in this direction.³⁴ I think it will grow into a town of some importance,

³¹ Captain Robert's steamboat "Greek Slave" plied normally in the St. Louis and St. Paul trade, but in the spring of 1853 it made a trip up the Minnesota before the ice went out of Lake Pepin. *Minnesotian*, April 2, 1853.

³² The reference is probably to Nathan Myrick, a well-known Indian trader who had establishments in various new towns along the Minnesota at this time. T. M. Newson, *Pen Pictures of St. Paul, Minnesota*, 85 (St. Paul, 1886).

³³ Joseph Jack Frazier or Frazer was a Sioux mixed-blood who, after numerous exciting experiences with Indian war parties, became a fur-trader. He acted as a scout during the Sioux War of 1862. A series of articles about his "Life and Adventures," by Henry H. Sibley, who wrote under the name of "Walker-in-the-Pines," appears in the Sunday issues of the *St. Paul Pioneer* from December 2, 1866, to March 17, 1867.

³⁴ The Winona and St. Peter Railroad, later a part of the Chicago and Northwestern system, crossed the Minnesota at Kasota in 1871. Gresham, *Nicollet and Le Sueur Counties*, 2:541.

equal to Le Sueur, below it, and second only to the Traverse in size and business. Its advantages are probably as great as any town site on the *lower* side of the river. Its convenience to Babcock's mill will facilitate its growth; for the difficulty of obtaining lumber is the most serious drawback generally experienced by new towns in their early starting. Besides Babcock's mill there is another also on the lower side of the river, a little below this place, — an old fashioned flutter-wheel mill, belonging to Antoin Young, — which is likewise sawing away successfully. The mill will be quite an advantage to the building operations of the people of Le Sueur a few miles below it. Both mills have only started within a couple of weeks.

The Indians are gathering in here quite thick again, from the sugar-bush. They made a considerable amount of sugar. In their liking for sweetmeats they are perfect children; and their physician, Dr. Foster, has several cases of serious sickness arising from their gorging themselves to excess with this food exclusively, in the bush.⁵⁵ There are some reports in regard to the upper Indians, which excited fears for their safety. A letter from Patterson's Rapids, (85 miles by land, and over 150 miles by water above,) says: "As yet there has been no news of the Seesetoan Sioux, or Robe Hunters; and the Indians hereabouts, as well as whites of Yellow Medicine Wood river, (Dr. Williamson's place,) think it most probable they are all dead — shut in from all communication by the deep snow, until they starved or froze to death."⁵⁶ And I fear those suspicions may prove too correct; but hope for the best."

Since the foregoing letter was received, Geo. McLeod, Esq., has arrived from Lac-qui-Parle in a huge cottonwood canoe, 25 feet long and 44 inches across the middle, and made of a single

⁵⁵ Dr. Thomas Foster acted as secretary to the commissioners who negotiated the Sioux treaties of 1851 and then served for a short time as physician for the Sioux. Newson, *Pen Pictures*, 151; Folwell, *Minnesota*, 1: 287, 288.

⁵⁶ Patterson's Rapids were named for a trader, Charles Patterson, who located at that point about 1783. Dr. Thomas S. Williamson established his mission station at Yellow Medicine in October, 1852. Warren Upham, *Minnesota Geographic Names*, 458 (*Minnesota Historical Collections*, vol. 17); Indian Office, *Reports*, 1853, p. 75-77.

tree — bringing down in her besides her crew and a lot of stuff, 40 bushels of seed potatoes! Mr. McLeod says that early in the winter the Seesetoans were heard from — that they had fallen in with plenty of buffalo, and had already made a large *cache* of dried meat; and that though nothing has been heard from them since, it is not improbable they fared well, and will turn up after awhile.

I am sorry to learn that Dr. Williamson's lady, at the Yellow Medicine Missionary Station, had a severe fall on the 5th of April, by which three or four of her ribs were broken. — The Doctor appears particularly unfortunate since he left Kaposia and removed to his present location. Early in the winter, he was so unfortunate as to have his ox-teams and supplies buried in the great snowstorm; the teamsters barely escaping with their lives; and he and his people were only saved from starvation during the winter by the missionaries at Lac-qui-Parle packing provisions down to him on the ice. It is to be hoped the worst of his trials are now over.

The Minnesota has only been moderately high this season, and is now falling fast. The Tiger came up into and landed her freight and passengers near the old missionary houses, on what is marked as the "Canal" on the town plat; and then passed up through it into the main river, saving about two miles by the operation. The larger boats could have done the same but for their barges. Mr. Cummings, of St. Anthony, who has the contract for breaking the 600 acres at the new Agency, landed ten yoke of oxen from the Tiger with a wagon or two, preferring to make the land portage of 40 or 50 miles, than steam 140, to reach the same point, on the most crooked and difficult part of the river. The Tiger then went on with the rest of her freight to the new Fort.

The next day about noon, the West Newton came surging up, herself and barge heavily loaded with the troops and supplies for the new Fort. I had the pleasure of greeting my friend, Captain James Monroe, Jr., (who, by the way, if we are to select a military man from a Fort, is admirably fitted by his talents and public services for the position of Whig candidate for Territorial Delegate,) and Lieut. Kelton of the Sixth Infantry, while another of my friends known as John P. Owens, Esq., Editor of the Minne-

sotian, loomed up on the hurricane deck, large as life and just as natural — "a chiel among them takin' notes," I suppose. The Newton stopped but a few moments to land a passenger or two, and then dashed ahead.

The next day in the afternoon, the Clarion came snorting up, loaded to the guards, with two or three barges in tow. She crowded our landing with every variety of stuffs, passengers, and live stock; and then pushed on for the new Agency. Agent M'Lean, with Mr. [Philander] Prescott, the Interpreter,³⁷ and Messrs. [Andrew] Robertson and Moer [*Hasen Mooers*], Indian Farmers at Kaposia and Black Dog village, were on board, with a great lot of lumber and supplies for the new Agency. — This will not be located at the mouth of the Redwood, as is the general impression, but three or four miles this side, nearer the timber.³⁸

So you see from all this, that civilized life and enterprize is born upon the Upper Minnesota.

D. U. S.

³⁷ Philander Prescott at this time was superintendent of farming for the Sioux. Indian Office, Reports, 1852, in 32 Congress, 2 session, *Senate Documents*, no. 1, p. 353-355 (serial 658).

³⁸ One of Murphy's first acts upon succeeding McLean was to move the new agency site slightly nearer to the new fort than was originally planned. Indian Office, *Reports*, 1853, p. 74.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE STUDY OF PIONEER LIFE: A COMMUNICATION

LINNTON, OREGON, April 16, 1930

TO THE EDITOR:

The Davis-Hindale-Klovstad symposium anent Rölvaag's *Giants in the Earth*, in the December and March issues of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*,¹ is of exceeding interest to me, rich as it is in memories of the long ago. Being a sort of second-generation pioneer of the Gopher State, I appreciate fully the contributions of the three gentlemen named and cannot resist an impulse to make the trio a quartet. If what I have to say be tintured unduly by purely personal recollections ("too much of enough," as a German friend put it) natural to a garrulous old fellow perilously near the open gate of octogenarianism, the reader may be charitable enough to pardon me and his honor Judge Public suspend sentence.

In April, 1867, I came to Minnesota from my eastern home to live with my brother, Captain Byron Talman, a Civil war veteran who had served with the Twenty-second New York Cavalry. He was "farming it" in the township of Cascade, Olmsted County, seven miles from Rochester. Our place was on the dividing line between cultivated farms and a vast expanse of rolling prairie lying "such as creation's dawn beheld." That fenceless, treeless, all but houseless waste was crossed by a few winding and not too well defined wagon roads where one might get lost without half an effort, especially in snowstorms, which meant death to many an ill-starred wayfarer. I assisted in breaking several patches of this virgin soil. The sharp plow tore through sod almost as tough as wire, turning a furrow scarcely three inches deep. Out on this prairie two miles from our abiding place dwelt a "bonnie Scot," John Frank, well read and a thinker like most of his countrymen, who introduced me to Macaulay, of whom he was an ardent admirer.

A few hundred yards back of our house rose a height so densely crowded with dwarf oak and underbrush as to be all but inac-

¹ *Ante*, 10: 430-435; 11: 63-74. *Ed.*

cessible. It was the habitation of various feral animals large and small, notably wildcats; and neighborhood rumor located an occasional panther there.

Those were the earliest days of reaping machines. I ran a McCormick reaper, which, like all of its kind then in market, had no automatic rake; driving a horse team around a hundred-acre wheat field day after day and "raking off" at the same time.

Messrs. Davis, Hoidale, and Klovstad have a good deal to say about the slow and proverbially patient ox. That reminds me. (Jehu! what an original remark!) One of the coldest days in the winter of 1867-68 I drove a yoke of oxen over the prairie four miles and back for a load of firewood, freezing both ears and coming within an ace of losing one of them.

In the symposium that incited me to get a few troublesome things off my chest, reference is made to the amazingly rapid rise, incident to deluging rainfalls, of existing Minnesota streams and the creation of deep, swiftly flowing rivers that vanished in a day. We lived within a mile of the Zumbro River, which I have known to rise six feet in half as many hours. That erratic stream will remain forever a rosebud of memory. When summer storms were raging I would make for the bank, plunge in the angry waters, and amid the heavy downpour, the lightning's glare, and the thunder's reverberating organ peal know an ecstasy, a delirious exaltation of soul, never experienced thereafter.

In the spring of 1868 my brother removed with his family to Iowa and I remained in Minnesota as the hired man (*æt. 16*) of George Waldron in the adjoining township of Kalmar. In that capacity it swelled my already stupendous self-conceit to set a record for the amount of plowing done in one day — nearly five acres. George paid me eighteen dollars a month and gave it out cold that he would rather have me than any twenty-five dollar man he knew of. (Hot blushes scorch me as I write.) In harvest time, every Sunday found me toiling in the wheat field "all by my lonesome" for the extra \$2.50 a day and (equally important) a keg of beer. One of the farmer neighbors was Mr. Graham, one of the worthiest and mellowest of Scots, whose family included a little shaver of tender years destined to become the well-known Dr. Christopher Graham of the Mayo hospital staff.

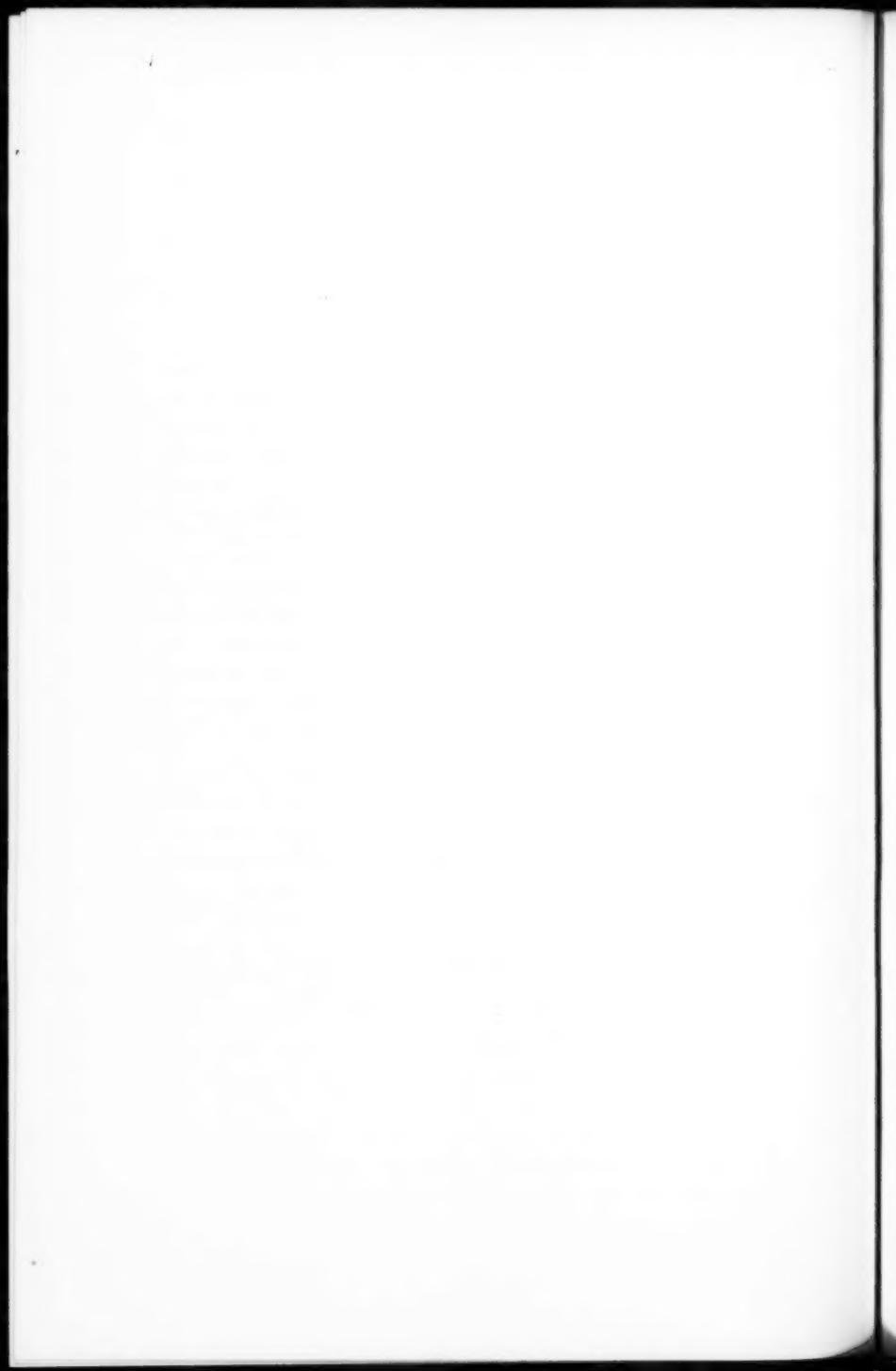
Late in the following autumn I returned to my home in Rochester, New York. Southern Minnesota's awful storm of the winter of 1872-73 created almost as profound an impression on the Atlantic seaboard as in the Middle West. It was the theme of "Dead in the Snow," a poem of mine the publication of which at the time was no doubt voted by public opinion hardly less regrettable than the sad event it commemorated.

August, 1879, found me back in Minnesota beginning my forty-seven-year "stop" in St. Paul. As combined telegraph editor and railroad reporter of the *Pioneer Press*, editing and helping to gather all the press news of the Northwest in common with the rest of the world, I "got wise" to every detail of the historic snowfall of the winter of 1880-81; and so far as memory goes I can corroborate Mr. Hoidale's every statement in connection therewith. With what blockades did the railroads and country roads do battle then! While traffic suspensions of greater or less duration prevailed all over the Northwest, the St. Paul and Sioux City Railroad, later absorbed in the Omaha system, was the worst sufferer of all. So frequent and persistent were the stoppages on that line that they became a standard joke among "newspaperists"—a joke of much richer tang for us than for the long-visaged stockholders.

Yes, the affair of 1880-81 was "some storm." Unless memory plays a "dirty trick," it was likewise a blizzard. And just what is a blizzard?² Let me quote the aptest definition I have come across up to date: "If four men can hold a blanket over a gimlet hole in the door it is not a blizzard."

JOHN TALMAN

² It may be of interest, in connection with Mr. Talman's comment, to note that the origins of "The Word *Blizzard*" are examined by Mr. Allen W. Read in *American Speech* for February, 1928. He asserts that the first use of the word in the meaning of "a furious snowstorm" occurred in the *Northern Vindicator* of Estherville, Iowa, in its issue for April 23, 1870, in reference to a severe storm of the preceding March. In *American Speech* for February, 1930, Mr. Read returns to the subject with a note entitled "'Blizzard' Again," in which he refutes the theory—derived from the *Lyon County News* of Marshall, Minnesota, for March 2, 1883—that the word in its present significance was first used in Marshall in connection with the great storm of 1873. *Ed.*



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

The Lure of the Frontier, A Story of Race Conflict (The Pageant of America, A Pictorial History of the United States, vol. 2). By RALPH HENRY GABRIEL. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1929. 327 p. Illustrations, maps.)

When *The Pageant of America* was announced several years ago the writer of this review supposed that it would be primarily a picture book, with a little explanatory text. The series is now complete in fifteen beautiful volumes, and if it is all as valuable as the volume under review it is an important contribution to American history. The pictures are there in great profusion — about half of each page is given up to illustrations — but the pages are large and the type is small, and the text of the volume amounts to about 150,000 words. Despite the fact that the paragraphs all have topic headings and are neatly fitted into the pages with no run-overs, the text is so written and organized as to present a unified and readable narrative of two closely related phases of the history of the American West — the advance of settlement across the continent and the retreat of the Indians.

After an excellent interpretative essay on "The American Frontier," the narrative deals successively with exploration and occupation of the Piedmont and Appalachian region, the New West across the mountains, western New York, the Old Northwest, the Old Southwest, and the Great Lakes country. Chapters are then devoted to the acquisition and exploration of the Louisiana Purchase, the Indians and the fur trade of the Great Plains, the exploration of the mountains and the occupation of Utah and Oregon, the acquisition and occupation of Texas and California, Indian relations from 1860 to 1890, "The Frontier on the Plains," the Indians of the Southwest and later Indian policy, and finally Alaska.

The text includes many quotations, some of considerable length, from travelers' accounts and other contemporary records and even from secondary works, but they are so woven into the nar-

rative that they heighten its interest without detracting from its unity. Usually, but not always, the sources of quotations are cited. The illustrations are admirably selected and well printed, the most valuable being the reproductions of contemporary pictures. The source of each picture is carefully indicated and notes on many of them appear at the end of the book. Especially noteworthy are the maps, including reproductions of old maps and plans and very effective historical maps drawn expressly for the work by Gregor Noetzel of the American Geographical Society. The latter include a series depicting the location of the frontier of settlement by decades from 1790 to 1900. The index is well made and covers information on the maps as well as in the text.

In a work of such extensive scope it is not surprising that a considerable number of minor errors should be found. For example, Cincinnati is located opposite the mouth of the Kanawha (p. 82), two different dates are given for the birth of Joseph Brant (p. 59), Dunmore masquerades as Fenmore (p. 52), and "due" is used as an adverb (p. 237). The location of the Central Pacific Railroad south of Great Salt Lake and eastward into Wyoming (map, p. 203) and the designation of the young ladies of New Orleans as "quadroons" almost approach the rank of major errors. More serious is the uncritical acceptance of the theory that the "maneuvering" of Jay and Adams saved the West for the United States in the negotiations of 1782 (p. 103).

Material of special Minnesota interest is not very extensive but is to be found in several places. The chapter on the Great Lakes country contains an account of the Chippewa, in which it is erroneously stated that they forced the Sioux "across the Mississippi and into the country south of the Minnesota River" (p. 131, 132); a paragraph on the early fur companies, in which the date given for the organization of the Northwest Company is too late by twenty years (p. 139); and a discussion of the Winnebago War, which gives the impression that Colonel Snelling was transferred to Fort Snelling in 1826 instead of 1820 (p. 151). The index, moreover, refers to this as the "establishment" of Fort Snelling. Pike's expedition up the Mississippi is given a paragraph (p. 176); there is a brief account of the Sioux Indians with

a paragraph on Waneta or Wanotan (p. 180, 181); and a page and a half are devoted to the beginnings of settlement in Minnesota and the Sioux Outbreak (p. 280, 281). There is also a reference to the promotion of the Northern Pacific Railroad by Jay Cooke, in which the dubious statements are made that he "established Duluth" and "brought sudden prosperity to St. Paul" (p. 282).

Among pictures of Minnesota interest are those of the American Fur Company's establishment at Fond du Lac, Minnesota — not Wisconsin, as stated in the captions — (p. 139), Lake Itasca (p. 176), General Pike (p. 177), a Sioux village and scalp dance (p. 180), Wanotan (p. 181), Fort Snelling (p. 205), a colonists' reception house and St. Paul in 1853 (p. 280), and New Ulm in 1860 (p. 282).

Despite the errors noted and others, the student and the general reader will find this a most useful and informing work and a welcome addition to the limited number of general works on the American frontier.

SOLON J. BUCK

Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of the History of the Republic and the Dominion. By HUGH LL. KEENLEY-SIDE, M.A., PH.D. With an introduction by W. P. M. KENNEDY, M.A., LITT.D.) New York, Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1929. xxi, 396, xlvi p. Maps, charts. \$3.25.)

This is a very useful book, a good piece of work. Its author has ranged over most of the secondary material and much original matter. He has sought the criticism of distinguished scholars and public men on both sides of the border, and his list of acknowledgments is a select "Who's Who of North American Historians." He has stepped with care and skill among highly debatable topics, and presented his conclusions with a measure of impartiality which leaves the reviewer still trying to decide whether the author was born north or south of the Great Lakes. I doubt whether the volume adds anything of importance to our knowledge of the story, for the various episodes have been investigated at length by Canadian and American researchers; but Dr.

Keenleyside has gone to the sources, and has gathered the whole story together in a survey for which we can be nothing but grateful.

And yet I wonder if we ought to be. At first thought one is inclined to say "let sleeping dogs lie" and lying dogs sleep. Let our international conventions and after-dinner speakers twang their harps about the undefended frontier and the century of peace. Why remind us that this peace has been far from unruffled, that there have been frequent frictions, that often the dove has been shot at as it has hovered over the international waters, that snarls and sneers are as common as pious platitudes, and that hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness have alternated with expressions of brotherly love? In the very nature of the study, attention is centered on the points of disagreement, just as police court records are full of cases of crime; the normal daily quiet intercourse and life go unrecorded; the wars, the moments of crisis, the disputes, the controversies, the manifestations of bitterness—all these have their records and so we can write books and quote chapter and verse about them.

Dr. Keenleyside apparently felt this but let second thoughts prevail. He and Professor Kennedy, who writes a brief preface, suspected that the common language, the common sharing in the economic development of a continent, the common tradition in public and private law and in democratic government "have been overemphasized at the expense of that deeper and more profound knowledge which in reality constitutes international understanding. Indeed, it is not too much to say that the very width of those things which the United States and Canada have in common has been influential in befogging the past, in charging the present with friction, and in loading the future with apprehension" (p. xix). If then the after-dinner phrases do harm rather than good, we need in their stead "that patient search for truth, that sincerity of knowledge, and that spirit of criticism which wise men ordinarily give to their own affairs." Hence the book hopes to contribute its mite in raising discussions of North American intrarelations "to a plane of sane dignity, removing them from empty verbiage, uninformed deductions, and doctrinaire theories."

The North American situation is probably unique. Nowhere else does history so strenuously fight geography, nowhere else does the key of the future lie so much in the past. The American Revolution did two things, not one. It made the United States, but in a very real sense it made British Canada. For those hundred thousand *émigrés* who went north changed the predominant character of the Canadian population from French to British and planted the United Empire Loyalist tradition. That Loyalist tradition did much to save Canada in 1812, and even when the first generation died off the tradition still survived. At every crisis in Canadian history — in the rebellions of 1837-38, in the Maine-New Brunswick dispute of 1842, during the annexation discussions in 1849, at the time of the Fenian raids, and down to the fight over reciprocity in 1911 — its soul has gone marching on. If the 1930 tariff bears heavily on Canadian export products, voices will be heard in Ottawa that speak with a late eighteenth-century accent.

Of all that has happened since the great emigration Dr. Keenleyside writes with knowledge, discrimination, and calmness. He shows how Canada had to feel the pinch of problems that were essentially Anglo-American, and at the same time face problems that were purely Canadian-American. He describes the valiant efforts made to build a distinctive Canadian nation in the face of strong "pulls" from distant England and near-by America; the sense of profound depression that prevailed as young Canadians were attracted south by the higher rewards for labor and the wider opportunities, while tariff walls shut out Canadian products; the pilgrimages to Washington and the rebuffs met in the search for reciprocity; the disquiet as American capital flowed in to capture Canadian manufactures, markets, and basic raw materials. He analyzes with rare insight the results of the real but belated advance which began about the end of the last century, when at last the Canadian prairies began to fill up and manufactures began to flourish, and faces squarely the possible implications that flow from the American ownership of about one-twelfth of the total national wealth of Canada. But he suggests what most observers feel, that Canada is now standing much more firmly on its own feet than was ever the case before,

that it has now developed a sense of self-reliance and lost most of that inferiority complex from which it suffered in the days before the invention of the new psychology. It can now afford to smile when thoughtless tourists flash along its highways with five American flags fixed on their radiator caps.

Such self-reliance is the key, or one of the keys of the future. In its relations with Great Britain, Canada has led the British dominions in the movement toward self-government; and in its relations with the United States it has become able to maintain a better poise. One regrets that Dr. Keenleyside has given such scant attention to the recent development of such problems as the Chicago water diversion, the St. Lawrence waterway and power project, the future of the International Joint Commission, and the relations between Canada and the Pan-American Union. A more detailed examination of these matters would have been of great value, and one could gladly have done with briefer discussion of some earlier themes in order to find space for recent and contemporary affairs. But one cannot have everything in a book which is essentially a general survey, and we may be thankful that so much has been told.

HERBERT HEATON

Frontiers: The Genius of American Nationality. By ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT. (Boston, Little, Brown, and Company, 1929. x, 266 p. \$3.00.)

“A Text has been fashioned for us,” writes the author of this volume in his introduction. “It was proposed by that good churchman, the Planter of Mount Vernon, in his farewell message to the people he had patiently led to freedom: ‘Be a Nation; Be American, and Be True to Yourselves.’”

This book, like that text, is divided into three parts. In the first part, “Be a Nation,” the author searches for the “provincial basis of patriotism” and elaborates with care the thesis that national loyalty is but an outgrowth of and development from local and sectional loyalties, the very multitude of which makes the nation the stronger. In the second part, “Be American,” he searches the West once more for the characteristics that distinguish Americans from citizens of any other

nation. "At every step westward men met the imperative challenge of greater distances and harder tasks," he writes. "It aroused their initiative, their courage, their hardihood. . . . Americans became a part of their giant task of continental mastery; they were compelled to dream constantly bigger dreams; they were forced to overcome constantly greater handicaps—open constantly greater farms, build constantly greater roads, canals and railways. The process became a part of them. They thought in terms of bigness; it became their obsession" (p. 120). In the third part, "Be True to Yourselves," the author observes the persistence of traits exhibited by Americans of the wilderness age in the later years of industrial expansion—a "story of stronger binding—of the laying of stone roads, the building of canals and railways, to the new frontiers of commerce and business" (p. 177).

The book is entertaining, suggestive, genuine, but at the same time a bit annoying. The ejaculatory and rhetorical character of the English employed might be suitable enough for perorations, but is hard to endure for a whole volume. The confidence in the fundamental righteousness of all things American, while soothing to the patriot, is not especially convincing to the historian. The effort to interpret American society rather than to chronicle the things that have happened in America leads to many loose statements that could hardly be documented. All these things are worth enduring, however, for the good that the book contains, and perhaps a man who has done so much for the cause of historical scholarship as Mr. Hulbert, has the right to lift his feet from the ground and soar with the Wright brothers in "the new frontier, the frontier of the air above us."

JOHN D. HICKS

St. Paul and Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918. Edited by FRANKLIN F. HOLBROOK. (St. Paul, Ramsey County War Records Commission, 1929. x, 588 p. Illustrations. \$1.50.)

This volume had its inception in 1918 with the creation of the Ramsey County War Records Commission at the instance of the Minnesota War Records Commission and under the direction of

Mayor Laurence C. Hodgson of St. Paul. The appropriations for a county war history and roster were voted by the St. Paul city council and the Ramsey County board, and Mr. Franklin F. Holbrook was appointed to direct the project.

Mr. Holbrook has so successfully established himself as the historian of Minnesota's part in the World War that any book on this subject which bears his name is certain to be received as accurate, thorough, and readable, within the limits prescribed. Readers of the volume under review will not be disappointed. It should be added that Mr. Holbrook had the able assistance of Miss Alice E. Smith, Mrs. Elizabeth H. Buck, and Mr. Edmond L. DeLestry, who are collectively credited with the preparation of eight of the thirteen chapters.

In planning the project the county war records commission appears to have entertained the thought that the information gathered might prove of value in some future war — a war which everybody devoutly wishes may be avoided but for which most of the world means to be prepared. The chapter on the selective draft certainly should be of concrete value in a future emergency, and no doubt the accounts of the zest and loyalty displayed by the county citizenry in prosecuting the war could be effectively used by even a mediocre propagandist to incite the population to a high pitch of patriotic fervor in a future war. But the general aim has been to present a comprehensive and graphic account of the county's activities in a war that has already been fought.

The readers for whom the book has been written are evidently the rank and file of the citizens of St. Paul and Ramsey County. The copious footnotes that buttressed the narrative in the first volume of Holbrook and Appel's *Minnesota in the War with Germany* (reviewed *ante*, 10:192-198) have been dispensed with, and the style throughout has been loosened up to make the story move easily and smoothly. There must be hundreds of families in Ramsey County who would find this account of their contributions to the winning of the war of absorbing interest. One wonders if means are at hand to get the book into the hands of those for whom it is meant.

The most lasting impression that the book left with the reviewer was a feeling of wonderment at the lavishness with which the

citizens of St. Paul and the rest of the county poured out their moral and material resources that the war might be won decisively and gloriously. Many will read the chapter on "Financing the War" with the wish that some of the ingenuity and propaganda which went into the task of raising the enormous sum of \$71,968,800 might be used to find a substitute if not a cure for war. Each of four major financial drives was oversubscribed. But the financial effort is only part of the story of sacrifice. Seven principal welfare agencies drew on the loyal citizen's time and pocketbook; and as though that were not enough, the population was afflicted with luxury taxes, to say nothing of heatless, wheatless, meatless, and sweetless days. The average citizen, whose memory for unpleasant experiences is obligingly short, may be amazed to discover the extent of the sacrifices of which he and his neighbors were capable in 1917 and 1918.

Another impression that is likely to remain with most readers is the vastness of war as a modern undertaking. Wars are no longer fought only at the front. The dynamo is found back of the lines among the citizens at home who work and worry and face uncertainty on a scale seldom if ever approached in peace time. Some of the chapter headings, such as "The Work of the Red Cross," "The Seven Welfare Agencies," "Fighting With Food," "The Saving of Fuel," "Local Industries in the War," and "Home Defense and Civilian Morale," taken collectively tell the story of the exhaustive effort necessary at home in order that the men at the front might carry on. The names of many agencies and individuals well known throughout Ramsey County appear on page after page. Mention of them drives home the truth that in modern wars everybody pays in one form or another.

One of the valuable features of the book is a roster of the names and records of the St. Paul and Ramsey County men and women who served in the military and naval forces of the United States during the war. Every effort has been made to make the list complete and accurate, and it is a feature that will be of decided interest to the sixteen thousand Ramsey County men who entered the army or navy. Of the 588 pages in the book, 253 are devoted to the roster.

The book will stand as a monument to the memory of those

men and women in St. Paul and Ramsey County who gave and paid that the war might be won. But perhaps it will stand also as a monument against war. Some one has said that since war is ugly, all monuments erected to the memory of war should be ugly. This is not to suggest that the present work is an ugly monument to the memory of our sacrifices in the recent war. There are passages and descriptions in its pages to which any individual whose arteries have not yet begun to harden will respond with thrill and excitement. Yet in these same pages the appalling waste of man power and resources in modern war is revealed in its nakedness for all those who will see it.

The authors say nothing of any plans to prepare similar histories for certain other Minnesota counties. The experiences of St. Paul and Ramsey County in the war are no doubt typical of those of Hennepin and St. Louis counties. But it will be surprising if these two counties are not inspired by the present volume to ask for similar accounts of their own efforts in the war.

The book contains an index and thirteen illustrations.

ARTHUR S. WILLIAMSON

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NOTES

The ninth state historical tour and convention under the auspices of the society will be held on Friday and Saturday, June 13 and 14, with sessions at Rochester, Owatonna, Albert Lea, and Fairmont, upon the invitations of the Olmsted and Martin County historical societies, of local associations of commerce, and of members of the society in the four counties to be visited. The assembling place for participants in the tour will be as usual the Historical Building in St. Paul, from which the start for Rochester will be made at 8:30 A.M. on June 13. A luncheon and an early afternoon program session will be held at Rochester, with Dr. William J. Mayo as the principal speaker. His announced subject is "The Pioneer Physician." A dinner and an evening session are scheduled for Owatonna on the same day. One feature of the entertainment in this city will be a visit to a recently launched local historical museum, and some attention will be devoted at the dinner program to the subject of local history organization. The next morning the tour will be resumed under the guidance of an Albert Lea committee. After brief stops at Hollandale and Clark's Grove, the tourists will continue to Albert Lea for a short morning session at the county court house, which is to be followed by a complimentary luncheon tendered by the local committee and the chamber of commerce. One of the program features of the Albert Lea session will be a paper on the explorer for whom the city is named. In the afternoon the tour will be resumed to Fairmont, with a brief stop at Blue Earth. A dinner will be given by the Fairmont hosts to the visiting party upon their arrival in that city, and at the program meeting following it Professor J. F. Balzer of Carleton College will present a paper on Mennonite settlement in southern Minnesota, Judge Julius Haycraft will speak on the work of the local historical society, and Mr. Harry M. Serle on the "English Colony in Martin County." Committees have been formed to forward local arrangements for the tour and convention and the society is making the general plans through the

curator of its museum, Mr. Babcock. All signs point to an interesting historical expedition and it is hoped that many members and friends of the society will attend.

Provision for a bequest of one thousand dollars to the society was made in the will of the late Frederic A. Fogg of St. Paul, who served as its president from 1921 to 1924.

A state-wide committee on membership has been appointed by President Guy Stanton Ford, with Mr. Frederick G. Ingersoll of St. Paul as chairman and the assistant superintendent as secretary. One member has been selected for each county in which the society has members.

Twenty-one additions to the active membership of the society were made during the quarter ending March 31. The names of the new members, grouped by counties, follow:

AITKIN: Rev. Philip H. Kiley of Aitkin.

BROWN: Ludwig Olson of Springfield.

HENNEPIN: Wilbur F. Booth, Frank Heywood, William F. Kunze, Walter C. Leach, Thomas C. Roberts, Andrew A. Stomberg, Edward F. Waite, and Mrs. Frederick W. Wittich, all of Minneapolis.

HOUSTON: Mrs. Ruth O. Stewart of Caledonia.

KANDIYOH: George O. Brohaugh of Willmar.

RAMSEY: George C. Lay, Rabbi Harry S. Margolis, Mrs. John E. Palmer, and Einar Sonnee, all of St. Paul.

REDWOOD: John B. Philbrick of Redwood Falls.

RENVILLE: Helen E. Woods of Fairfax.

SIBLEY: George A. MacKenzie of Gaylord.

STEARNS: Charles F. Ladner of St. Cloud.

NONRESIDENT: Frank P. Shepard of New York City.

The Cottonwood County Historical Society of Windom and the Swift County Historical Society of Kerkhoven have become institutional members of the society.

The public schools of Cloverton, Lake Crystal, and Montgomery have recently taken out subscriptions to the current publications of the society.

The society lost ten active members by death during the first three months of 1930: William H. Levings of Minneapolis, January 10; Mrs. Julia M. Barnes of Duluth, January 21; Dr. Dwight F. Brooks of St. Paul, January 21; Frank A. Carle of Minneapolis, January 22; Charles A. Weyerhaeuser of St. Paul, February 15; Joseph F. Moore of Minneapolis, February 20; Enoch F. Berrisford of St. Paul, February 22; William S. Dwinnell of Minneapolis, March 9; Charles Ffolliott of St. Paul, March 22; and Frederic A. Fogg of St. Paul, March 27. The death of James B. Schermerhorn of Minneapolis, on November 30, 1929, has not previously been reported in the magazine.

A questionnaire sent out last year to subscribing schools and libraries disclosed the fact that very few of them made a practice of binding their copies of *MINNESOTA HISTORY*, some even discarded them or stored them along with noncurrent ephemeral magazines. In an effort to remedy this situation, an offer was recently made to exchange bound volumes for unbound copies at a cost of fifty cents a volume, and a considerable number of subscribers have taken advantage of this offer, while others have decided to make their own arrangements for binding.

Progress is being made on a consolidated index to the first ten volumes — fifteen years — of the magazine, which will make easily available a large store of historical information.

The March issue of the *Minnesota Historical News*, the monthly clip-sheet for newspapers, was number 100 in the series. It was accompanied by a letter to editors inquiring about the value of the service to them, and the replies received indicate enthusiastic appreciation.

The text of volume 4 of Dr. Folwell's *History of Minnesota* is all in type and it is expected that the volume will soon be ready for distribution.

The reminiscences of Dr. William W. Folwell, mostly written or dictated during the last year of his life, are being edited under the direction of the superintendent for publication by the University of Minnesota Press.

Toward the close of 1929 the Ramsey County War History Commission published a volume entitled *St. Paul and Ramsey County in the War of 1917-1918*, edited by Franklin F. Holbrook, a review of which appears in the present number of the magazine. Lacking facilities for distribution, the commission turned practically the entire edition over to the society together with a sum of money to cover the cost of distribution. Some 330 copies were sent to libraries throughout the country with which the society has exchange relations and those Minnesota schools and libraries that are on the society's roll of subscribers. Under the agreement between the society and the commission, Gold Star mothers are entitled to copies free of charge on application. Copies are also available for sale at \$1.50 each.

The "Care of Articles in Small Museums" is the subject of a paper by the curator of the museum published in the *Indiana History Bulletin* for January. Mr. Babcock gives much detailed practical advice for the benefit of museum administrators.

There was a notable increase in the number of people visiting the museum in classes or groups during the quarter. The total of these, 2,732, included 1,971 from outside the Twin Cities, of whom 1,686 were brought in two excursions run by the Chicago and Great Western Railroad for members of "4-H" clubs.

The project for the coöperation of the society with the state highway department in the erection of markers for historic sites along state highways has made progress. Inscriptions have been supplied by the society for seventeen markers and others will be prepared as rapidly as the department is able to construct and erect the markers. The project in general is thus indorsed by the *Minneapolis Journal* in its issue for March 17: "It is a commendable undertaking, which, if carried out as it should be, will add much to the enjoyment of travel in Minnesota, will perpetuate site records, and doubtless will quicken local interest in history. Especially, if properly employed, it should arouse the interest of school children."

One section of a paper entitled "Twenty-five Years of the Swedish Historical Society of America: A Retrospect" by Con-

rad Peterson, published in the *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin* for March, is devoted to an account of the building up of that society's library and the problem of housing the collection before 1921, when it was placed on deposit with the Minnesota Historical Society. Of this step, Dr. Peterson writes: "The collection has found its permanent home. It is being shelved and cared for . . . in the same manner as the books belonging to the Minnesota Historical Society itself. . . . Our members and friends are courteously treated and made to feel at home. The struggle to secure a large building fund is at an end."

Many are the uses to which a large collection of newspapers is put. The society's files, for example, have been used recently by graduate students — candidates for masters' and doctors' degrees — whose interests have ranged from quantitative measurement of newspaper materials in different periods to qualitative appraisal of content, from such subjects as the social aspects of German settlements in Minnesota in the fifties to such as the processes of pioneering in given counties, from studies of religious activities to studies of humor in various periods. Some readers have turned pages in search of birth or funeral notices; others have combed "society columns" for items about friends of long ago. Through a perusal of a file of a certain metropolitan newspaper, a private detective secured information regarding the whereabouts of a young woman who had fallen heiress to a half million dollars and who had not yet learned of her good fortune. In four different cases at law material found in the society's collection has played an important part. The publisher of a Minnesota newspaper recently spent much time in examining a file of his own paper, his office file having been destroyed by fire.

The superintendent discussed the work of the society at an American legion meeting in St. Paul on January 28. The assistant superintendent gave an illustrated talk on "Minnesota Pioneer Life" at a meeting of the Goodhue County Historical Society in Red Wing on January 21, and he presented the same subject before the Swedish Society of Minneapolis on February 27. On February 11 he spoke to the Kiwanian Club of Minneapolis on "Abraham Lincoln and Foreign Opinion." He and the curator

of manuscripts both spoke on January 17 at a meeting of Pi Gamma Mu, a social science club at Hamline University, the former telling of his researches in Norwegian immigration and the latter discussing her studies in the history of pioneer missionary work among the Minnesota Indians. Dr. Nute also addressed, on January 11, the John Prescott chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution at the Minneapolis Institute of Fine Arts on "Minnesota Fur Trade Days." The curator of the museum spoke at a meeting of the Cosmopolitan Club of the University of Minnesota on February 23, taking as his subject "The Minnesota Indians and Their Adjustment to White Civilization." He also gave a talk on "Early Minneapolis" to a group of Minneapolis high school students in a course of "Community Life Problems" on March 5.

ACCESSIONS

Contemporary material about Du Luth, Radisson, Groseilliers, Hennepin, and other explorers and traders who figure in the French period of the history of the Northwest is included in photostatic copies of more than a hundred and fifty sheets of letters and orders written between 1683 and 1687, received from the *Bibliothèque nationale* and the *Archives des colonies* in Paris. For example, the writer of a letter dated May 18, 1683, states that he has seen Hennepin's book and adds, "I said nothing to M. de la Salle because it made me too angry when I read it on my journey." He suggests, however, that La Salle should see a copy and make some notes "with which one could regale this good father in a preface." Among many references to Du Luth is one in a letter written by the governor of New France on July 9, 1684, in which the explorer is said to be "at the end of Lake Superior, where he is quieting the Chippewa and the Sioux. From there he goes to Lake Nipigon."

The career of Robert Rogers during the years from 1760 to 1763, when he was in charge of a corps of rangers and was becoming interested in the fur trade at Detroit, is reflected in five documents, photostatic copies of which have been secured from the New York Public Library.

Copies of a number of documents relating to the family tree of Ramsay Crooks, the early fur-trade magnate, and his descendants have been received from Miss Margaret Plunkett of Boston.

A second copy of the "Prairie Rose Bud," the manuscript periodical composed by the students at the Hazelwood mission in the fifties, described *ante*, p. 94, for June 13, 1854, and copies of its successors, "The Busy Bee" for January 9, 1857, and "The Schoolmate" for January 28, 1859, have been presented by Miss Callie M. Kerlinger of Berkeley, California.

Photostatic copies of about a hundred items relating to Minnesota and the Northwest — especially the German settlements in the state, the Benedictine communities in Stearns County, and the work of the missionaries, Father Francis Pierz and Bishop Frederic Baraga, among the Chippewa — have been made from *Wahrheitsfreund*, a German Catholic magazine published weekly at Cincinnati from 1836 to 1863. An incomplete file of this periodical, consisting of volumes 11 and 18 to 24, was borrowed recently from the library of the University of Illinois.

Many references to the building of territorial roads in Minnesota occur on the calendar cards for the letters received by the office of topographical engineers of the war department, recently completed by Dr. Newton D. Mereness, the archival agent at Washington of a group of historical agencies. He has commenced work on the series entitled "Miscellaneous Letters Sent" in the same office and among the calendar cards received by the society are a few containing references to Major Stephen H. Long's expedition of 1823.

An original diary of Alexander Ramsey for the year 1864, when he was beginning his long period of service in Washington as senator from Minnesota, has been added to the Ramsey Papers by his daughter, Mrs. Charles E. Furness of St. Paul. Public affairs, the Civil War, and social life in the capital are among the subjects touched upon in the diary.

Thirty-five items from the papers of the late Judge Luther L. Baxter of Fergus Falls have been presented by his daughter, Miss Bertha Baxter of Minneapolis. Most of the letters relate to

pioneer politics in the Minnesota Valley and to the Civil War. One letter, written to Mrs. Baxter on March 29, 1864, is of special value because it contains an account, by a teacher, Mrs. Harriet McKelvey, of her work in the South, at Natchez, under the direction of the North-Western Freedman's Aid Commission.

A brief article on the "W. D. Washburn," a Lake Minnetonka steamboat of the early eighties that was used later on the Minnesota and Mississippi Rivers and was known also as the "Mercury" and the "Henry W. Longfellow," has been presented by the author, Mr. Randolph Edgar of Boston.

The papers of the late Charles L. Annan, an engineer who had considerable experience in Mexico, have been presented by Mrs. Annan of St. Paul. In addition to engineering, many of the papers relate to phonetics and philately, in which Annan was specially interested. They include, for example, a mimeographed notice of the organization of the St. Paul Philatelic Society, dated December 10, 1895.

A roll of Chippewa Indians on the White Earth Reservation compiled by Mr. Ransom J. Powell and Mr. R. C. Bell acting as commissioners under an act of June 30, 1913, has been presented to the society by Mr. Powell, of Minneapolis. It is in effect a census containing the names of Indians and mixed-bloods who were allotted land on the reservation and descriptions of their allotments. These data, which are printed, are supplemented with typewritten entries made in 1920 giving the age of each individual named in the roll, his blood status, and certain other items of information.

A copy of the *By-Laws and Articles of Incorporation* of the Northfield, Kasota and Western Railway Company (Northfield, 1886. 12 p.) is the gift of Mr. O. P. Buell of Kasota. The company was organized in 1886 to promote the building of a railway from Northfield to Kasota and westward across the state. The road was surveyed, but the project never materialized.

Files of three important Norwegian-American newspapers, dating from 1868 to 1911, have been received from the library

of Luther College, Decorah, Iowa. That of *Skandinaven* (Chicago) extends in scattering fashion over the period from 1868 to 1908 and includes some each of the daily, weekly, and semi-weekly editions of that paper. The file of *Decorah-Posten* (Decorah, Iowa) covers the years from 1880 to 1910 and includes, in addition to many loose numbers, ten bound volumes. That of *Amerika* (Madison, Wisconsin) is for the period from 1885 to 1911. These newspapers are important additions to the society's already strong collection of material in this field.

A copy of the *Lake City Tribune* for March 14, 1857, has been received from Mr. C. H. Chalmers of Minneapolis; and a copy of the *Winona Daily Review* for November 30, 1859, is the gift of Miss Mary Grant of Winona. As both of these issues were lacking in the society's newspaper collections, they are welcome additions.

Some Civil War uniforms, a military bridle, a fiddle, music, pens, and other personal articles worn and used by the late Dr. William W. Folwell have been received from his family through the courtesy of Miss Mary H. Folwell of Minneapolis.

A combined wallet and memorandum which intercepted a bullet and so saved the life of Lieutenant Christopher B. Heffelfinger of the First Minnesota Volunteer Infantry in the battle of Gettysburg has been presented by his son, Mr. Frank T. Heffelfinger of Minneapolis.

A collection of articles made by Minnesota Chippewa, including several types of storage baskets of cedar bark, birch bark, and reeds, basswood-bark twine in various stages of manufacture, floats and sinkers used on fishing nets, and birch-bark torches, has been presented by Miss Frances Densmore of Red Wing. A pipe made of pipestone, picked up after the battle of Wounded Knee, and a pipe tomahawk said to have belonged to the Sauk chief Black Hawk are gifts of Mr. Edmond L. DeLestry of St. Paul.

A steel pike made by John Brown for use in the Harper's Ferry raid is the gift of Mr. Sherwood Hough of White Bear Lake.

NEWS AND COMMENT

"There are all the colors and forms of humanity in our daily life—the mingling of races and moulding of a race—the amalgamation of ancient inheritances into a new tradition," writes Mr. John T. Frederick in an article on "The Writer's Iowa," published in the *Palimpsest* for February. The entire number is devoted to Iowa literature and writers.

As American local historical workers occasionally study the old-world connections of their communities, it is interesting to turn to an English local magazine and find a study of the new-world connections of an English community. "Sussex and the U. S. A." is the title of a series of articles by David McLean appearing in the *Sussex County Magazine*. The installment in the February number tells of "Sussex and William Penn."

In a booklet entitled *Lewis Cass and the Indian Treaties: A Monograph on the Indian Relations of the Northwest Territory from 1813 to 1831* (Detroit, 1923. 62 p.), Benjamin F. Comfort gives the governor of Michigan Territory credit for bringing the Indians of the old Northwest "under the authority of the United States by the arts of peace and diplomacy." The treaties negotiated by Cass are listed and a brief account of each is presented. In the list of treaties (p. 17), that negotiated at the trading post of Fond du Lac on the St. Louis River in 1826 is incorrectly described as taking place at Fond du Lac, Wisconsin. The account of the governor's trip through the Minnesota country to Cass Lake and Fort Snelling in 1820 is quoted from W. L. G. Smith's life of Cass, published in 1856.

The Problem of Indian Administration (Baltimore, 1928) is the title of a study made by a special survey staff, of which Mr. Lewis Merriam was the director, and published by the Institute for Government Research as one of its *Studies in Administration*. It deals with such general matters as health, education, economic

conditions, family and community life, and missionary activity among the Indians of the present day.

In an article on "Some Neglected Data Bearing on Cheyenne, Chippewa, and Dakota History," in the *American Anthropologist* for January-March, John R. Swanton rejects the traditions relating to the destruction of the old Cheyenne town on the Sheyenne River in North Dakota by Sioux or Assiniboin Indians, and states that this was the work of "a body of Chippewa Indians led by Sheshepaskut, head chief of the those bands of Chippewa which were forcing their way southwest at the end of the eighteenth century." The writer bases his conclusions on a story related by David Thompson in his *Narrative*, edited by J. B. Tyrrell and published in 1916. When this explorer visited the trading post of Jean Baptiste Cadotte on the Red Lake River in the spring of 1799 Sheshepaskut and some of this warriors were there, and the chief himself told Thompson how his people had attacked and burned the village.

An article on "Religion and Magic among Cass Lake Ojibwa" by Sister M. Bernard appears in *Primitive Man* for July-October, 1929. Among the items discussed are blood-letting and the sweat lodge.

The part played by Red Cloud in the Sioux revolt in Montana in 1890 and 1891 is recalled by Colonel Charles W. Taylor, who was present when the chief surrendered, in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 12. Pictures of Red Cloud and of Colonel Taylor accompany the article.

"The Norwegian Lutherans of America recognize in the old Muskego log church the first real church built in this country by their forebears from Norway," writes Julian Sargent in a feature article published in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for February 9. He tells of the building of the little church by pioneers at Muskego, Wisconsin, in 1843; of the settlement that it served; of its removal to the grounds of the Luther Theological Seminary at St. Paul in 1904 for preservation; and of its present appearance. Pictures of the interior and exterior of the church accompany the article.

A biography of John Marsh, by Dr. George D. Lyman of San Francisco, is to be published by Charles Scribner's Sons in the fall. Marsh figured prominently in the early history of Fort Snelling and Fort Crawford, and the chapters relating to his career in the frontier Northwest will undoubtedly be of great interest to Minnesotans. Dr. Lyman made extensive use of the collections of the Minnesota Historical Society in gathering the material for this section of his book.

It was "the plain immigrant folk, both native and foreign, who formed the great bulk of passengers on upper Mississippi steamboats," writes Mr. William J. Petersen in an article on "Captains and Cargoes of Early Upper Mississippi Steamboats," published in the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for March. "These immigrants, together with the vast cargoes of freight which resulted from their presence, fattened the pocket-book of the steamboat captain and made possible the phenomenal development of early steamboating on the upper Mississippi." Mr. Petersen writes of such well-known captains as Joseph Throckmorton and Daniel S. Harris. He devotes some attention to the "fashionable tour," that is, the western trip that included a journey up the river to Fort Snelling, and mentions, among other items, the excursion of the "Lawrence" to the fort in 1825, two years after the opening of the upper river traffic by the "Virginia."

A study of "Catholic Beginnings in Southeastern Iowa, 1832-1844," by Charles F. Griffith, published in *Mid-America* for April, contains numerous references to Bishop Mathias Loras and Father Lucien Galtier and touches on their Minnesota connections.

Early Algona: The Story of Our Pioneers, 1854-1874, by Florence C. Cowles (Des Moines, 1929. 221 p.), is a charmingly written local history of a settlement in northern Iowa that occasionally had interesting Minnesota connections. The panic caused by the Sioux Outbreak, for example, is vividly described. A "Northern Border Brigade" was formed and various defense measures were taken. At Estherville, near the Minnesota boundary, a substantial stockade, known as Fort Defiance, was built.

Under the caption "Some Beginnings in Iowa," in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for January, Mr. William J. Petersen indulges in an essay on "historical firsts"—first explorers; first settlers; the beginnings of townships, counties, courts, surveys, land sales, post offices, schools, churches, and newspapers; even first houses, first white women, and first marriages. The author is aware of the need of "painsstaking research" in dealing with subjects so "fraught with dangers"; and he points out that it is necessary "to approach the question of first things in any field with extreme care." Dr. Joseph Schafer in the issue of the *Wisconsin Magazine of History* for September, 1922, called attention to some of the obvious dangers in "Historical 'Firsts,' 'Exclusives,' and 'Incomparables.'" One reason why such warnings are frequently needed is the great emphasis, often accompanied by careless research, that local historians put upon superlatives. Mr. Petersen recognizes the popular trend and seeks to supply accurate data, based upon careful research, for those who are interested.

A sketch of the boundary history of one of Minnesota's neighbors is included in an article entitled "Wisconsin Might Have Been Much Larger," by Louise P. Kellogg, in the *Wisconsin Magazine* for January. In the February issue she writes of early French explorers, traders, and missionaries in Wisconsin.

A valuable account of "The History and Location of Fort Howard" by Barton L. Parker appears in the *Green Bay [Wisconsin] Historical Bulletin* for October-December, 1929.

The first installment of a history of "Navigation on the Chippewa River in Wisconsin" by Captain Fred A. Bill appears in the *Burlington [Iowa] Post* for March 22. The material contained in this installment is introductory in character. The first chapter of the narrative proper appears in the issue for March 29, and here the author tells of early settlement in the Chippewa Valley and attempts to determine when the first steamboat ascended the stream. George P. Warren's trip to Chippewa Falls by way of the Mississippi and the Chippewa in 1842 is cited, but Captain Bill is not certain that this entire journey was made by

steamboat. Evidence is presented, however, to show that a number of boats went up the Chippewa in the late forties and early fifties. Installments of two other series of articles dealing with upper Mississippi River navigation continue to appear in the *Post*. These are the "Memoirs of Capt. Sam Van Sant" and W. A. Blair's "Recollections of Fifty Years on the Upper Mississippi."

An interesting account by the Reverend Abraham Jacobson of a missionary trip that he made into Dakota Territory in 1861 has been translated by J. N. Jacobson and published under the title "Chapter of Dakota History in the Early Days" in the *Hills Crescent* for February 6, 13, and 20. With a party of eight settlers traveling in covered wagons drawn by oxen, the writer started from Decorah, Iowa. "Every evening the wagons were placed in a square," he writes, "the oxen were turned loose to graze, and a fireplace spaded out, a wall of sod encircling it, in which we made our fire." After three weeks of travel the party reached Vermillion, one of the centers of Norwegian settlement in Dakota. Here and at other points where these people were living Jacobson conducted services, baptized children, and solemnized marriages.

Numerous articles about the history of Deadwood, South Dakota, are published in the January number of the *Black Hills Engineer*, issued by the South Dakota State School of Mines. Particularly interesting is an illustrated account of "Early Transportation" by George V. Ayres.

An article entitled "A Canadian Pioneer: Spanish John," by A. G. Morice, in the *Canadian Historical Review* for September, 1929, deals with the career of John Macdonell, whose sons, John and Miles, both figure prominently in the early history of the Northwest, the former as a fur-trader, and the latter as a leader among the British pioneers in the Red River settlement.

GENERAL MINNESOTA ITEMS

A memorial convocation in honor of the late Dr. William W. Folwell was held on February 20 in the Cyrus Northrop Memorial

Auditorium at the University of Minnesota under the auspices of the university, the Minnesota Historical Society, the state department of education, the state teachers college board, the state board of control, the state board of health, the Minnesota Education Association, the Minnesota Library Association, the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, the Minneapolis park board, and other groups. Resolutions of appreciation by all these organizations were published in the printed program, which also included a useful chronological summary entitled "Milestones in a Life of Public Service." The principal address was delivered by Dr. Kendric C. Babcock, dean of the college of liberal arts and sciences of the University of Illinois, a graduate of the University of Minnesota of the class of 1889 and an old friend of Dr. Folwell. Governor Christianson spoke on "Dr. Folwell and the State of Minnesota" and Chancellor Coffman on "Dr. Folwell and the University." The convocation was attended by about three thousand people.

A narrative of unusual interest for Minnesota history appeared under the title "William Henry Eustis—An Autobiography" in the daily issues of the *Minneapolis Journal* from December 22 to January 28. It comprises thirty-three chapters, beginning with an account of the author's boyhood in New York state and concluding with his mellow reflections on life in Minneapolis. Eustis was born at Oxbow, New York, in 1845, and he died in Minneapolis in 1928 after a residence of forty-seven years in that city. The autobiography is packed with reminiscences about the Minnesota metropolis, which Eustis fervently loved. The author served as mayor of Minneapolis for one term, having been elected in 1892; and he tells in ample detail about his experiences in municipal affairs. Much attention is devoted, for example, to the notorious Harry Hayward murder case, in the unraveling of which Mayor Eustis played a prominent part. In 1898 Eustis ran for governor on the Republican ticket and was defeated by John Lind. To this campaign he devotes a detailed account that will be of value to the historian of Minnesota politics. Especially interesting are his comments on the part played by nationality in the election. Twice later in his career Eustis ran for office, in 1906 and 1912, both times for the position of Congressman and

both times unsuccessfully; but to these episodes he devotes very little attention. Occasional chapters contain interesting comments on national political affairs, especially with reference to the eighties and nineties; and it should be noted that Eustis served in 1892 as a delegate to the Republican national convention. Perhaps the most valuable portions of the autobiography, however, are those dealing with various professional, business, and social aspects of life in Minneapolis — themes that recur again and again throughout the narrative. Eustis was an attorney by profession, but his very substantial fortune was built up mainly through real estate transactions in the rapidly growing city where his interests were centered. In introducing the autobiography, the *Minneapolis Journal* prints a brief appreciation of Eustis which includes the following comment: "He was best known for his work among crippled children. He gave practically all of his money away to help children whose bodies were handicapped through disease or other misfortune." On this phase of his career, however, Eustis himself is modestly silent. The narrative records a vigorous, shrewd, benevolent personality. Not the least of his services is the record that he has left in these reminiscent chapters, a record that deserves the permanency of book form.

A list of Minnesota place names traceable to Indian origin; a bibliography of works on the history, life, and customs of the Minnesota Indians, compiled by members of the staff of the St. Paul Public Library; and a sketch entitled "Historic Rambles Around St. Paul" by Willoughby M. Babcock, curator of the museum of the Minnesota Historical Society, are included in the February number of "The Firefly," a mimeographed periodical issued by the Camp Fire Girls of St. Paul.

"How Minnesota Reorganized Her State Administration" is the title of an illuminating article by Mrs. Frederick W. Wittich in the *California Tax Digest* for January, 1926, which has not previously been noted in this magazine.

A sketch of "James Shields, Soldier, Justice, Senator," who served as one of the first two United States senators from the state of Minnesota, appears in volume 19 of the United States

Catholic Historical Society's *Historical Records and Studies* (New York, 1929).

A list of the living alumni who were graduated from the University of Minnesota from 1873 to 1884 appears in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for February 15.

"Some Recollections of Charles R. Chute Regarding the Opening of the State University of Minnesota in the Latter Part of September, 1867," appear in the *Minnesota Alumni Weekly* for February 8. The author was fifteen years of age when in 1867 he was enrolled at the academy of the university. This was two years before the university proper opened under the presidency of William W. Folwell.

An abstract of a paper on "The St. Paul-Minneapolis Double Rail Center" by Richard Hartshorne is published in the March issue of the *Annals of the Association of American Geographers*. Mr. Hartshorne explains the origins of "two separate centers growing into a single urban center but retaining widely separated and complete nuclei, neither of which is dominant," a situation that originated "in the embryonic pre-railroad period" and was "perpetuated by the railroad structure which developed in relation to certain features of the natural landscape."

The career of Mr. Charles M. Babcock, who has been the leader in highway work in Minnesota during the past twenty years, is outlined by John Lienhard in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for January 19.

Peter Good for Nothing, by Darragh Aldrich, is an interesting story, vividly and forcefully told, of life in a lumber camp in northern Minnesota (New York, 1929). A lumber baron of Port Greysolon (Duluth) and a French-Canadian lumberjack hero are among the chief characters of the novel.

An article on "The Chippewa National Forest" by H. H. Chapman, reprinted from the *American Forests Magazine*, and a brief account of "Minnesota's Farming Progress" appear in the *Northwest Magazine* for February.

A History of Manufactures in the United States, 1860-1914, by Victor S. Clark (Washington, 1928), devotes some attention to flour milling and the iron ore trade in Minnesota. The author asserts that "Typical of the early establishment of manufactures close to the frontier wherever cheap power and transportation were available is the early prominence of Minneapolis as an industrial town."

Congressman Conrad G. Selvig of Crookston has introduced a bill in the House of Representatives for the appropriation of \$7,500 to erect a monument at what is known as the "Old Crossing" of the Red Lake River, where, on October 2, 1863, the Chippewa signed the treaty that opened the Red River Valley to settlement.

Mr. H. M. Hitchcock is the author of a series of articles on "Early History" appearing in the *St. Anthony Review*, the official organ of the St. Anthony Commercial Club. Sketches of the "first big business of Minnesota," the fur trade, and of "Minnesota's first farmers" at the missions on Lake Calhoun and Lac qui Parle appear in two numbers issued during December; and an account of two "daring adventurers"—Father Hennepin and George Catlin—is published in the February issue. The latter number includes also an "Interesting Sidelight on Club's History" in the form of the minutes of its organization meeting, held on July 13, 1905. Mr. Hitchcock's article on the fur trade is published also in the *Redwood Gazette* of Redwood Falls for December 18; and this paper includes in its issue for March 12 an account by the same writer of the "Earliest Known Important Events Which Occurred in Redwood Valley."

Volume 4 of the *Dictionary of American Biography*, edited by Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone for the American Council of Learned Societies, includes the following sketches of special interest to Minnesota readers: Greenleaf Clark, the lawyer and jurist, by H. W. Howard Knott; Claus L. Clausen, a pioneer pastor of the Norwegian Lutheran church, by J. Magnus Rohne; Mary Clemmer, the author, by Sarah G. Bowerman; Horace W. S. Cleveland, the landscape architect who designed the Minneapolis

park system and Como Park in St. Paul, by Theodora K. Hubbard; John E. Clough, the Baptist missionary, who worked as a surveyor in Minnesota in the fifties, by John C. Archer; William P. Clough, the railroad executive, by H. W. Howard Knott; Russell H. Conwell, who served as an immigration agent abroad for Minnesota in the late sixties, by Frederick T. Persons; Jay Cooke, the banker, by Ellis P. Oberholtzer; George Copway, the Chippewa missionary, by George H. Genzmer; Bishop Joseph Cretin, who was appointed the first Roman Catholic bishop of St. Paul in 1850, by M. M. Hoffman; and Ramsay Crooks, the fur-trader, by William J. Ghent.

LOCAL HISTORY ITEMS

At an "old settlers' reunion" held in connection with a meeting of the Cook County Historical Society at Grand Marais on February 12, Mr. S. C. Murphy presented an account of the "First Pilgrimage to St. Paul in Behalf of State Aid for Cook County Roads"; Mr. N. J. Bray described the beginning of mail service, the first elections, and the first census, and other matters connected with early north shore history; and Mrs. Alma Hedstrom read a paper dealing with the history of Maple Hill. Mr. Bray's paper appears in the *Lake County Chronicle* of March 13 and the *Cook County News-Herald* of Grand Marais for March 12 and 20, and Mrs. Hedstrom's in the issue of the latter paper for March 27. Members of the society adopted a resolution at the same meeting volunteering their "co-operation with any movement to preserve and restore" the ruins of old Fort Charlotte and the trail leading to them from Grand Portage and to make them the center of a public park in order "to help save for the future the story of early exploration and settlement in this vicinity." A similar resolution was adopted by the Cook County board in March.

The Crow Wing County Historical Society, at its annual meeting held at Brainerd on February 17, adopted the following resolution: "In recognition of the services rendered Minnesota by the late William Watts Folwell, as soldier and historian, It is Hereby Resolved by the Crow Wing County Historical Asso-

ciation, in annual meeting assembled, that there be entered upon the minutes of said meeting, its appreciation of his work and gratitude that he lived to complete his monumental history of our state." Among the speakers on the program were Mrs. J. G. Heald, who told of Pike's visit to the upper Mississippi, and the Reverend O. L. Bolstad, who made an appeal for the preservation of historical relics and for the marking of historic sites. The following officers were elected for the coming year: president, Henry I. Cohen; vice president, Mrs. M. A. Bronson; secretary, Mrs. J. G. Heald; treasurer, Mrs. Florence Fleming; and historian, Judge L. B. Kinder.

The passing of a community that was once an important trading post and lumbering center of northern Minnesota—Crow Wing—is commemorated by the publication of a review of its history in the *Brainerd Tribune* for February 13. The discontinuing of the village post office is the occasion for the article.

Some highlights in the history of the lumber industry in Minnesota and of Gray Cloud Island are touched upon by Julian Sargent in an article in the *St. Paul Pioneer Press* for March 2. When the Hastings dam, now under construction, is completed a large section of the island, which is in the Mississippi River south of St. Paul, will be flooded. The timber on this land is therefore being cut. In the issue of the *Pioneer Press* for March 9, Robert Thompson calls attention to "Many Historic Spots to be Flooded When Dam at Hastings Is Completed." These are located at such places as Hastings, Point Douglas, Spring Lake, Pig's Eye Lake, and Gray Cloud Island. He tells especially of the old mill at Spring Lake, which was first operated in the early sixties by L. E. McCarrel.

The organization of a local historical society in Dodge County is being promoted by Mr. G. H. Slocum of Mantorville, according to an announcement in the *Mantorville Express* for March 14.

In the March issue of *MINNESOTA HISTORY* (p. 112) reference was made erroneously to the *Blue Earth County Post* instead of the *Blue Earth Post*. This newspaper is published at the town of Blue Earth in Faribault County.

The history of the First National Bank of Goodhue, which celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its incorporation as a national bank on March 1, is outlined in the *Goodhue County Tribune* for February 27. The article includes considerable information about the economic development of the region around Goodhue and explains how the founding of the bank by H. M. Scovell and C. A. Arpke brought about a "radical change in commercial methods and speeded up business remarkably." In the same issue of the *Tribune* a picture of Goodhue as it appeared a quarter of a century ago is reproduced.

The Presbyterian Church of Red Wing celebrated its diamond jubilee with special services on January 12 and an historical program on January 13. The latter included the presentation of a sketch of the history of the church by W. H. Putnam, a history of the Sunday school by J. W. Holliday, and a history of the missionary society by Mrs. Peter A. Nelson.

The history of the Community Presbyterian Church of Grand Rapids, which celebrated its fortieth anniversary during January, is outlined in the *Itasca County Independent* for January 18.

Stories of Norwegian pioneers who settled the region around Foot Lake, by G. Stene, are published under the title "The Trail Blazers" in the *Willmar Weekly Tribune* for March 26.

A decision "to collect a permanent museum at once, before much valuable material is lost" was reached at a meeting of the Hutchinson Historical Society on March 7. A committee was named to investigate the possibility of using the basement of the city library for a museum and another committee was appointed to collect objects for display. The society also made plans to coöperate with the Union Club in staging a celebration of the seventy-fifth anniversary of the founding of Hutchinson.

Glencoe will celebrate its seventy-fifth anniversary on July 4 with the presentation of a pageant, according to an announcement in the *Glencoe Enterprise* for March 27. Historical sketches of the city, which was founded by John H. Stevens, Martin McLeod, and a number of others as a town-site project in 1855, appear in the *Enterprise* and in the *Stewart Tribune* for March 27.

Items from an old ledger kept by the owner of a store at Silver Lake in 1888 form the basis of an article in the *Silver Lake Leader* for March 29.

The story of Miss Sophia C. Pratt, the first teacher in Cedar Mills and Greenleaf townships, Meeker County, is related by Win V. Working in the *Hutchinson Press* for January 14 in one of a series of local history articles. Some of his other sketches published in the same paper deal with the storm of 1873, January 7; early banking in Hutchinson, January 21; the Reverend William Simmons, a pioneer preacher of McLeod County in the seventies, January 28; and pioneer politics in that county, March 11. A similar series of local history articles published in the *Hutchinson Leader* includes an account of a cheese factory established at Hutchinson in the seventies, February 7; and a sketch of the bank established by W. E. Harrington in 1882, February 28.

Under the title "Early Days in the Valley," the *Mahnomen Pioneer*, in its issue for January 31, prints a letter from Mr. Xavier Wambach of Waubun, in which the writer presents his recollections of pioneer life in the Red River Valley. He tells how his family journeyed by wagon, boat, and rail from their old home in southern Ontario to Moorhead, and settled near that place. "In winter we cut cord wood to sell to the steam-boats in the summer time," he writes. "The steamboats bought vegetables, cream, butter, eggs and whatever the few settlers along the river had for sale." Mr. Wambach also describes the farming methods and primitive machinery used in the Red River country during the pioneer period.

"Historical Sketches of Early Royalton" by Frank B. Logan have been appearing in the *Royalton Banner* since February 21. The series includes accounts of R. D. Kinney, a missionary from Vermont who staked a claim on the site of Royalton in 1853, February 28; of Allen Morrison's trading post on the Mississippi near the town's present power dam, March 7; of the early settlement of Bellevue Township, March 14; and of the "Lost Village of Langola," March 21.

Local committees for the various townships and villages of Nicollet County have been appointed by the executive committee of the county historical society, according to an announcement in the *St. Peter Herald* for March 28. They are charged with "gathering historical data of their community, securing items for a county museum and the organization files," seeing "that historic spots are properly marked and old landmarks preserved," and "looking after membership in their respective localities." Miss Laura Laumann, the secretary of the county society, reports that the organization now has 208 members. Meetings have been planned for April 12 and July 23.

An historical essay contest that met with great success was conducted in Otter Tail County during January and February by the county historical society and the local Federation of Women's Clubs. Rules for the contest were published in the newspapers of the county early in January: it was open to pupils of the seventh and eighth grades; they were encouraged to base their essays on interviews with pioneers and on old newspapers, letters, and diaries; essays were to be in the hands of the county superintendent of schools before March 1; all essays submitted were to become the property of the Otter Tail County Historical Society; and prizes of seven, five, and three dollars were to be given to the writers of the three best essays. A total of 179 essays were submitted, and from these a committee consisting of members of the organizations that sponsored the contest selected three prize-winning essays and ten to receive honorable mention. The results were announced in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for March 19 and the *Fergus Falls Tribune* for March 20. The first prize was awarded to Julia Tumberg of New York Mills for a description of "Pioneer Life in Newton Township"; the second, to Louise Hotchkiss of Ashby for a "History of St. Olaf Township"; and the third to Lorraine Ebersviller of Pelican Rapids for an account of the "Development of Schools in Pelican Rapids." Miss Tumberg's essay, which deals with the emigration of her great-grandparents from Finland in the early seventies and the childhood of her grandmother at New York Mills and is based on the latter's recollections, is

published in the *Journal* for March 19 and the *Tribune* for March 20. The other prize-winning essays appear in the *Journal* for March 22 and 25, and these as well as the essays that received honorable mention are being published in the weekly issues of the *Tribune*.

The settlement on Lake Clitherall in Otter Tail County established by a group of Mormons from Iowa in the spring of 1865 is the subject of a series of ten articles by Mrs. Edith W. Tiller of Battle Lake, published in the *St. Paul Dispatch* from January 14 to February 3. Her narrative seems to be based largely on *Old Clitherall's Story Book*, a pamphlet by Hallie M. Gould published in 1919. Considerable interest is added, however, by the illustrations, which consist largely of portraits of the founders of the settlement. With the final installment a picture of the first log cabin built at Clitherall and the near-by monument erected by the Otter Tail County Historical Society in 1928 appears (see *ante*, 9:310).

School and church records and newspapers, in addition to printed secondary materials, were used by Mr. R. S. Myers in the preparation of "A History of the Village of Parkers Prairie," published in the *Independent*, the local newspaper, for March 6, 13, 20, 27, and April 3. It deals in detail with such subjects as the first settlers, the organization of the town, early stores and houses, schools, the post office, milling, and other industries; and it describes the appearance of the village at various times, for example, in 1880.

The early history of Deer Creek and the vicinity is recalled by one of its early settlers, N. G. Bolton of Roosevelt, in a letter published in the *Fergus Falls Daily Journal* for March 12.

A brief article telling how Thief River Falls got its name is contributed by H. E. Mussey to the *Grygla Eagle* for January 17. He relates that in the early nineties the post office was known as Rockstad, but that for some reason there was much confusion about this name and mail often failed to reach its destination. He therefore "sent a well signed petition to Governor Merriam,

then Governor, and the name was legally made Thief River Falls."

Conditions at Crookston in the seventies are described in a letter from Mrs. Elsie Wilson of Minneapolis, published in the *Polk County Leader* of Crookston for February 20.

The meeting of the Glenwood Civic Club on January 30 was devoted to a program of talks on pioneer days. A general account of early conditions in Pope County was presented by Mrs. H. A. Greaves, and reminiscent talks were given by Mrs. J. M. Aal, Mr. William Engebretson, and Mrs. Matt Ward.

A number of items about early days in Pope County are reproduced from the issues of the *Pope County Press* for 1877 and 1878 in the *Glenwood Herald* for March 13 and 20. Among them is a school report of May 25, 1877, which includes the names of the pupils and gives some information about those still living. A file of the *Press* from May 12, 1877, to May 11, 1878, was discovered recently by Mr. E. M. Webster.

A lecture by Mr. E. E. Billberg, illustrated with slides borrowed from the Minnesota Historical Society, was the feature of a program presented by the Roseau County Historical Society at Roseau on February 24 and attended by more than two hundred people. An admission charge of twenty-five cents for adults and ten cents for children brought the local society a considerable sum for the promotion of its work.

The career of William B. Mitchell of St. Cloud, who began his newspaper work in the office of Mrs. Jane G. Swisselm's *Visitor*, is recalled in an article in the *Minneapolis Journal* for January 16. His portrait appears with the article.

The program for the meeting of the St. Louis County Historical Society on February 7 was presented under the auspices of the history department of the Washington Junior High School of Duluth in the school auditorium. It was arranged by Miss Maude L. Lindquist, head of the department, who presented a paper on "Newspapers and Advertising in the Thirteen Colonies." The program included two papers contributed by students: one on

"Jay Cooke, the 'Robert Morris' of the Civil War," by Mary Gallagher; and the other on "Some Phases of the Discoveries and Explorations," by James Lindquist. The "Hopes of the Pioneers of the Lake Superior Country" were described by William E. Culkin, president of the St. Louis County society, and stereopticon views of early Duluth and of World War home work were shown.

At a meeting of the board of directors of the Swift County Historical Society on March 21 a corresponding secretary was selected for each precinct in the county. The special duty of these secretaries will be the collection of historical materials in their districts. In order to have a place to house such material, it was decided that an attempt be made to secure a room in the court house and a committee was appointed to bring the matter before the county board. Another committee was selected to consider the publication of a history of the county. Tentative plans were made for a home-coming and old settlers' day to be observed on June 9 in connection with the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the county.

Conditions at Long Prairie in 1850 are described by O. B. DeLaurier in an article published in the *Long Prairie Leader* for January 9. It is based upon such sources as the 1850 census schedules and the reports of the Indian agent for the Winnebago, Jonathan E. Fletcher, and it includes such data as the names and occupations of some of the prominent residents and the locations of the agency buildings. Mr. DeLaurier also is the author of an account, which appears in the *Leader* for February 20, of the adventures of the members of the Tully family, who attempted to make their way from the Red River settlements to Fort Snelling in 1822. In the same paper for February 6 is an interview with Mr. A. J. Gibson, in which he presents his recollections of pioneer days in the vicinity of Long Prairie.

At the laying of the cornerstone of the Lincoln School addition at Lake City on March 14, Mr. R. D. Underwood outlined the history of "Lake City's Public Schools, 1856-1930." Extensive extracts from his address appear in the *Lake City Graphic*.

Republican for March 26 and the *Wabasha County Herald* for March 28.

How Judge Orris E. Lee plans to have historic sites in and around Stillwater marked by securing the interest of certain organizations, business concerns, or individuals in specific sites is explained in the *Stillwater Gazette* for January 22. For example, the site of the first court house will be marked by Senator George H. Sullivan; the first mill site by a group of lumbermen headed by Mr. J. D. Bronson; the place where a Sioux-Chippewa battle was fought, known as Battle Hollow, by Mr. George H. Atwood of the Twin City Forge and Foundry Company; and the Tamarack House by the Washington County Soldiers Monument Association. Other sites that Judge Lee wishes to have marked also are mentioned in the *Gazette*.

Some material about the history of the Winona State Teachers College, which will celebrate its seventieth anniversary with a special commencement program in June, appears in the school's *Bulletin* for November and February. According to a sketch published herein and reprinted in the *Winona Republican-Herald* for February 7, Winona was the first normal school west of the Mississippi and the fourteenth in the United States. The cover of the *Bulletin* bears a picture of Winona in 1860, and the illustrations include portraits of some of the school's presidents and pictures of its early buildings.

The annual meeting of the Winona County Old Settlers Association on February 22 was the occasion for the publication by the *Winona Republican-Herald* of a special "Old Settlers Edition" containing a number of articles of historical interest. One by Paul P. Thompson, historian of the association, entitled "Muskrat Pelts Used in Place of Money in First Business Here," deals with the fur-trading activities of Alexis Baily and is based on some of that trader's manuscript account books in the possession of Mr. Charles G. Weyl of Fountain City, Wisconsin. A page of accounts is reproduced with the article. Mr. Thompson also is the author of a sketch of Captain Orrin Smith, the "first to select, locate and plat the city of Winona." A picture of Smith's

steamboat, the "Nominee," and a reproduction of the "Original Plat of Winona" appear with this article, and a portrait of Captain Smith, recently acquired by the old settlers' association, is reproduced elsewhere in this issue. Among the other articles are a number of reminiscent accounts by and sketches of pioneers.

Numerous articles dealing with pioneer history or early settlers in the vicinity of Rothsay have been appearing in the *Rothsay Enterprise*. Among the most interesting of these is a sketch in the issue for February 13 written by the late A. B. Pedersen and translated from the Norwegian by Mrs. Alice Rand. It tells of the general store which the writer opened in Rothsay in 1879, the year that the railroad reached the town. How the railroad station was located on the homestead of Christen Tanberg, thus determining the location of the town, and how two town plats were prepared — one in 1879 and the other in 1885 — is explained by H. L. Shirley in a sketch printed on March 20. The fiftieth anniversary of the coming of the first train is commemorated in the issue for January 2 by the publication of a picture of the locomotive that reached Rothsay on December 29, 1879, and a brief account of some of the early agents in charge of the local station. Among the Norwegian settlers of the seventies and early eighties whose pioneer experiences are described are Casper Rudh and Ole Pederson, January 9; G. H. Nordrum, January 16; H. C. Johnson, January 30; and Kittel S. Skugrud, March 6.

Extracts from a letter written at St. Anthony on July 14, 1861, by O. C. Merriman to a brother-in-law who was prospecting for gold in California are printed in the *News-Messenger* of Marshall for January 17. Of St. Anthony the writer says: "It is a very pleasant town and will one day I doubt not be an important town in the state." He comments also upon the effect of the Civil War in the Northwest. The letter was found recently by Mr. Frank Herring of Mobridge, South Dakota, among the effects of his father, the late H. M. Herring.

An historical account of Augsburg Seminary, a Norwegian Lutheran theological school established at Marshall, Wisconsin, in 1869, and transferred to Minneapolis in 1872, is given in

an article entitled (in translation) "The Oldest Norwegian Theological School in America" by Andreas Helland in *Nordmands Forbundet* for February.

"The Early History of Mound Related by an 'Old Timer'" is the title of a sketch by Adam Painter dealing for the most part with "firsts" in this community, printed in the *Minnetonka Pilot* of Wayzata for February 6.

Under the title "Reminiscences of Pioneer Days in Champlin Village," Orange S. Miller outlines the history of the community from the days of the early explorers through the period of settlement.

With the announcement of the discontinuing of the business of Field, Schlick and Company of St. Paul, the history of this pioneer concern, which was founded in 1856 as D. W. Ingersoll and Company, is outlined in the *St. Paul Dispatch* for January 31.



